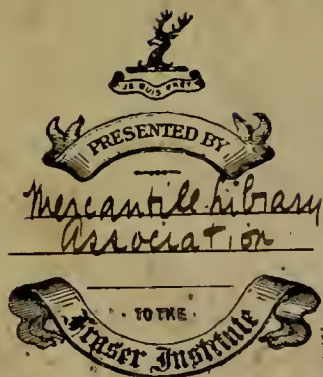


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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
I T A L Y,

Translated from the ITALIAN of
FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

BY

AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Esq;

The THIRD EDITION.

In TEN VOLUMES.

V O L. I.



L O N D O N,

Printed for Z. STUART, at the *Lamb*, in *Pater-noster-Row*.

MDCCLXIII.

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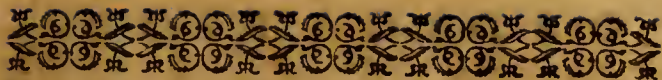


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T O

The Right Honourable the
Countess of POMFRET.

MADAM,



SHOULD never have
presumed to appear in
Print, had I not had the
Honour and good Fortune of Your
Ladyship's Acquaintance. In a
Conversation Two Years ago, You
expressed the Satisfaction You
should receive in reading a faith-
ful Translation of GUICCIARDINI's
History in our Language. This
induced me to render a Sheet
of it into *English*, which Your
Ladyship was so good as to ap-
prove

DEDICATION.

prove. As you are a perfect Judge of both Languages, I construed Your Approbation for an Encouragement; and, with no small Labour, have gone through the Whole History. If I find my Undertaking has answered Your Ladyship's Expectation (which is the Height of my Ambition) I shall have no Reason to doubt of its being acceptable to the Public.

I am, MADAM,

Your Ladyship's

most obedient

humble Servant,

AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD.



To the R E A D E R.

THE higher the Opinion the
T World entertains of the Merit
of *Guicciardini's* History, the
greater the Expectation may be of seeing
it rendered properly into *English*. The
Translator, therefore, to obviate all Preju-
dices and Prepossessions, thinks proper to
give the following Account of himself.

THE Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, *Cosmo* III.
having had some Knowledge of the Tran-
slator's Family, sent for him to *Italy* be-
fore he had attained the Eleventh Year of
his Age. He lived Eighteen Years in that
Country, Seven of them in the Academy
of *Siena*, and other Places of Study, and
the Remainder at the Court of *Florence*,
where his Royal Highness honoured him
with the Order of *St. Stephen*.

THIS was mentioned in the First
Edition by the Translator, as an Excuse
for

To the R E A D E R.

for the Propriety of his *Engliſh*. But ſince the Public has been ſo indulgent as to take off all the Copies of the firſt Four Volumes, ſo as to put him under a Neceſſity of enlarging the Number of the reſt, and reprinting the firſt Four, he congratulates himſelf in thinking he has no farther Occaſion to apologize on that Score. Animated by this Succeſs, he applied himſelf with ſtill greater Attention to the Reviſal of the Remainder, as alſo of the firſt Four Books before their Re-publication.

THE



T H E
L I F E
O F

Francesco Guicciardini,

Taken chiefly from Signior *Domenico Manni*
of *Florence*.

AMONGST the many Noble
A Families which adorn the City
of *Florence*, that of the *Guicci-*
ardini may be well placed in the first
Rank, both for its Antiquity, and on ac-
count of the Great Men it has produced.
Several of them have been sent on Em-
bassies, and employed in the most impor-
tant Posts of the State. They reckon Six-
teen *Gonfalonieri*, which was formerly the
Supreme Dignity in the Republic, for the

Senatorial Order was not instituted till the Year 1532, when Forty-Eight Senators were created with the Sovereign at their Head. The stately Palace of the *Guicciardini* still remains, and gives Name to the Street where it stands, near which is the Old Church of *Santa Felicita*, adorned with many of their Devices, and Altars officiated by Chaplains of their Nomination. They have been Lords of several Castles in *Vallipesa* ever since the Year 1150. That of *Popiano* was sold by *Niccoló Guicciardini*, in 1445, for Three Thousand Florins to *Galeazzo Malatesta* of *Pesaro*, and re-purchased into the Family, in 1449, by *Jacopo* and *Piero*, but now they have only the Presentation to the Chief Church.

FROM such noble Blood then sprung our *Francesco*. His Father's Name was *Piero*, a famous Lawyer, and a valiant Officer, who was appointed Commissary General of the *Florentines* in 1501, and afterwards being sent Ambassador to *Leo* the Tenth, displayed such Eloquence in a Speech he made to the Pontiff, that the Audience

Audience affirmed, None but the *Florentines* were compleat Orators. This confirms what an Historian has writ, that our *Francesco* was endued with an hereditary Eloquence. For *Jacopo*, *Piero's* Father, was also a learned Man as well as a great General.

I HAVE thought it necessary to make this Preamble, to give a greater Lustre to the Character of *Francesco* : For tho' one cannot well assert that Virtue is hereditary, yet to have before our Eyes the glorious Deeds of our Ancestors, is a great Encouragement to endeavour to attain it : For this Reason *Varro* thought it commendable, and useful to the State, that Men, like *Alexander*, should imagine themselves Sons of some Deity, that, inspired with so high a Notion, they might disdain to attend to mean Employments.

SIMONA GIANFILIAZZI, the Mother of *Francesco* and seven other Children, was also descended of an antient and noble Family. As for the Time of his Birth, and some other Particulars relating to the Author's Life, they cannot
be

be better ascertained, than by transcribing the Relation *Francesco* gives of himself, in a Manuscript of his own Hand-Writing, still extant, which is as follows.

“ I FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,
 “ Doctor of Civil and Common Law,
 “ was born the 6th of *March*, 1482,
 “ in *Florence*, about Ten of the Clock :
 “ The Name of *Francesco* was given me,
 “ in Memory of *Francesco Nerli*, my
 “ Father’s Grandfather by his Mother’s
 “ Side : I was also Christened by the
 “ Name of *Thomas*, the Day I was born
 “ happening to be the Festival of Saint
 “ *Thomas Aquinas*. My Godfathers were
 “ *M. Marsilio Ficino*, the greatest *Platonic*
 “ Philosopher then in the Universe,
 “ *Giovanni Canacci*, and *Piero del Nero*,
 “ both likewise Philosophers. In the
 “ Year 1498, about the End of *Novem-*
 “ *ber*, I began to study the Civil Law,
 “ and that Year at *Florence* I heard the
 “ Institutes from *M. Jacopo Modesti* of
 “ *Carmignano*, for that Study was lost
 “ in *Pisa*. *Rinieri Guicciardini*, my
 “ Uncle, was Archdeacon of the Metro-
 “ politan

THE AUTHOR

“ politan Church of *Florence*, and Bishop
“ of *Cortona*; his Benefices yielded him
“ near Fifteen Hundred Ducats a Year,
“ and most People imagined, when he
“ was taken ill, that he would make
“ over to me his best Benefices, which I
“ very much desired, not from an In-
“ clination to lead an idle Life, but be-
“ cause I thought, that being young, I
“ might be in the Way of obtaining rich
“ Preferments in the Church, with Hopes
“ some time or other to be made a Car-
“ dinal. *Rinieri* was not inclined to
“ make Renunciatiõ, yet he would have
“ made it in Reversion, especially if my
“ Father, for whom he had a great Re-
“ gard had pressed him to it. But tho’
“ he had Five Sons, he did not care that
“ any of them should take to the Church;
“ because he thought the Discipline very
“ much neglected, and therefore chose
“ rather to lose the present Opportunity
“ of preferring a Child that Way, than
“ to sully his Conscience, by making a
“ Son of his a Priest, with a View to
“ Grandeur and Riches: This was the
“ true Reason that guided him, and I
“ was

“ was obliged to submit. The 15th. of
 “ November, 1505, I received my De-
 “ grees in the Chapter of *St. Lawrence*,
 “ in the College of the Students at *Pisa*,
 “ erected in 1497: But I chose only to
 “ be Doctor of the Civil Law, because
 “ I thought the Cannon of little Im-
 “ portance: My Sponsors were *M. An-*
 “ *tonio Malagonelli*, *M. Francesco Pepi*,
 “ and *M. Vittorio Soderini*, and the same
 “ Morning I read my Lecture.” So far
Guicciardini’s Manuscript.

IN the 23d Year of his Age, he was appointed a Professor of the Institutes at *Florence*, with a competent Salary for those Days, and soon established such a Character, that he was consulted and preferred to all other Lawyers his Co-temporaries. *Antonio Cioffi* gives him the Name of *Clarissimus Jurisconsultus*, [a most eminent Lawyer.] Many of his Opinions are yet extant, and are preserved in the famous Library of *Sig. Carlo Tomaso Strozzi*, a Gentleman, to whom all Lovers of Arts and Erudition are very much indebted.

IN

IN the Year 1506, *Guicciardini* married *Maria*, Daughter of *Alemanno Everardo Salviati*, without Comparifon the greateft Man in *Florence*. In 1507, he was chofen by many Cities of the State for their ftanding Counfellor, and two Years after made Advocate of the *Florentine* Chapter, which was a very honourable Employment, both for its Dignity and becaufe it had always been filled with the moft learned Counfellors of the City. In 1509, he was elected Advocate of the Order of the *Camaldoli*, and continued in this Way of Life until the Year 1511, when the fupreme Magistracy thought proper to make ufe of his Talents in a more public Manner.

THE *French* and *Spaniards* had entered into a League againft the *Italians*, and the *Florentines* were very much perplexed, not being determined whether they fhould engage in the League, or remain neuter. On this Occafion they appointed our *Francesco* Ambaffador to *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*, to treat about this and feveral other im-

important Affairs ; as he mentions in the 10th Book of his History. He left *Florence* in *January*, 1512, and after a prosperous Journey came to *Burgos*, where the King resided, and remained two Years at his Court. A large Field was here opened for his Improvement in the Management of Affairs : Many Events happened in that Time, which came within his Province to negotiate ; such as the taking and plundering of *Ravenna* and *Prato* by the *Spaniards*, the deposing of *Piero Soderini*, and the Restoration of the Family of the *Medici*. What concerned these and other Negotiations was transacted by him with universal Applause, and the Republic had such an Opinion of his Capacity, that, though several Occurrences happened within that Time, they never sent any other Minister. The King was also intirely satisfied with his Behaviour ; a Proof of which was the great Quantity of fine-wrought Plate, he made him a Present of at his Departure. On his Return, at *Piacenza* he heard the melancholy News of his Father's Death, which was something alleviated by the unusual

Marks

THE AUTHOR.

ix

Marks of Honour and Respect paid him when he came to *Florence*.

ON the 13th of *December*, 1515, *Leo* the Tenth made his pompous Entry into *Florence*, accompanied by a great Number of Cardinals. *Guicciardini* had been deputed by the Republic to go and receive him at *Cortona*, where the Pope, taken by his engaging Behaviour, or convinced, on this Occasion, of the Truth of what Fame had spread of his Abilities, the Day after his Arrival, of his own accord, in a Congregation of Cardinals, declared him Advocate of the Consistory. When he came to *Florence*, he conferred indeed the same Dignity on *Vincenzo Paleotti* of *Bologna*, a learned Lawyer, who was Counsel to the King of *England*, and on *Lancellotto Politi* of *Siena*, afterwards Archbishop of *Consa*. But what is here said, is to shew that *Guicciardini* was the first who received this Honour, and that, by the Recommendation only of his own Merit. The Pope's Favours did not stop here; for not long after he sent for him to come to *Rome*, with a View of employing him
where

THE LIFE OF

where he might best display his Talents. In 1518, he gave him the Government of *Modena* and *Reggio*, in that perilous Time a Place of Trust that required vast Circumspection, which he shewed himself Master of, by deluding with a prudent Dexterity the Person who, relying on his Youth and Unexperience in Military Affairs, endeavoured to make himself Master of *Reggio*.

IN 1521, *Guicciardini's* good Conduct in his Office obtained him the Government of *Parma*, from whence *Bocchi* writes he drove away the *French*, and confirmed the *Parmesans* in their Obedience and Submission, which proved a very difficult Task; for it was when the Holy See was vacant by the Death of *Leo*, and when the People he commanded were full of Fears, disheartened and unarmed. He retained the same Post under *Adrian* the Sixth, to whom he discovered the dangerous Designs of *Alberto Pio, da Carpi*, and got him removed from the Government of *Reggio* and *Rubiera*. *Giulio de' Medici*, who took
the

the Name of *Clement* the Seventh, as soon as he was exalted to the Pontificate, confirmed him in that Government. In the Year 1523 he prevented the Duké of *Ferrara* from seizing on *Modena*; in Acknowledgment of which the Pope made him Governor of that Place, and President of *Romagna*, with an unlimited Authority. This was a Place of great Dignity and Power, yet a very laborious and dangerous Situation, considering the Circumstances of the Times, the Enmities and Factions then running so high: But his Prudence not only overcame all these Difficulties, but in the Midst of them he found Means to contribute to the Conveniency and Delight of the Inhabitants, by embellishing their Towns, that lay almost in Rubbish, with good Houses and magnificent Edifices. This rendered his Name so acceptable to those People, that they were overjoyed when, after a further Promotion of *Guicciardini*, they understood he was to be succeeded in his Government by his Brother. This happened the 6th of *June*, 1526, when the Pope by a Brief declared him Lieutenant

General of all his Troops in the Ecclesiastical State, with an Authority over his Forces in other Parts also that were under the Command of any Captain General; wherefore *Girolamo* in his Ninth Book writes, "When, in 1527, the Citizens of *Ravenna* had Reason to fear the intire Destruction of their Country, *Guicciardini*, Commander of the Pope's and all the Confederate Forces, came to our Aid." There is an original Letter from the Duke of *Milan*, still preserved in the Family, directed, *Illustrissimo Domino* Francisco Guicciardino *Locumtenenti Pontificio & tanquam Patri honor: In Castris Sanctissimæ Ligæ*; and ends *De V. S. come filio* Francesco 2do *Sf. Visconte Duca di Milano*; and another from the King of *France*, with this honourable Address, *A mon Cousin* Francesco Guicciardini, *Gouverneur Gen. du Pape*.

GUICCIARDINI, according to *Bocchi*, was excellent both in the Cabinet and Camp; and, as *Scipione Amirato* observes, it was impossible he should be otherwise, when one considers the different Employments

ments and Negotiations he was trusted with, and the many Consultations, both Civil and Military, at which he was present. *Possentino* writes, that he was very well versed in all Affairs concerning Peace or War; and *Benedetto Varchi* in his History has this Paragraph, “ *Francesco Guicciardini*, besides his Nobility, besides his Riches, besides his Degrees, besides his having been Governor and Lieutenant General of the Pope, was also highly esteemed not only for his Knowledge but also for the Experience he had in Civil Affairs and political Transactions, a Subject he talked and judged of extremely well.” *Domenico Mellini*, in the Description he gives of Queen *Giovanna* of *Austria*’s Entry into *Florence*, calls him a Man of Prudence, and well versed in the Management of grand Affairs relating to Government. *Sansevero* thus confirms all that had been said by others: “ The Pope and other Princes in the Alliance were so sensible of his Integrity and Abilities that, by their Authority, he opened all their Letters that passed through his Hand whilst he was in the Field, and

corrected and altered their Orders as he thought the Exigency of Affairs required." *Bocchi* in another Place calls him one of the greatest Men in *Italy*; which indeed *Guicciardini* has proved himself to be in the two excellent Books he has written, intitled, *Political and Military Advertisements*.

No Wonder if a Man of such Parts was courted by all the Learned: It were to be wished, that we could look into his Correspondence; but as his Letters, by fatal Negligence, have perished, our Curiosity in this Point can only be satisfied by some written to him; a Part of these are from Cardinal *Pietro Bembo*, Secretary to *Leo X.* and are to be seen in his printed Letters; and others from *Bernardo Tasso*, amongst which is that famous Sonette in his Works.

*Arno ben puoi il tuo Natio soggiorno
Lasciar nell Appeninno, &c.*

It appears from the Letters of *Bembo* that he possessed the agreeable Art of engaging

gaging the Affections both of private Persons and Princes : All our Histories make mention of the Pains he took, in the Year 1527, to quell a dangerous Insurrection in *Florence*, when the Army of the League was there, under the Constable of *Bourbon*, at which Juncture that City would probably have been sacked, and a great Part of the Nobility murdered, if *Francesco*, by his Interposition, Counsel, and smooth Speeches, had not prevented it.

SOME Authors, tho' of no great Note, have ventured to tax *Guicciardini* with Prolixity, but they are much outweighed by those of a superior Judgment. *Scipione Ammirato*, the elder, in his fine dedicatory Epistle to the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, expresses himself thus : “ *Guic-*
 “ *ciardini* explains the Causes and Rea-
 “ sons of Things so justly, praises the
 “ good Actions, and blames the bad, so
 “ free from Malice, Prejudice, or Envy,
 “ and lays before the Eyes of the Rea-
 “ ders the Customs and Qualities of Per-
 “ sons in such proper Colours, and all this

“ with such Decorum and Majesty, that
 “ he creates rather Wonder and Asto-
 “ nishment, than Hopes of equalling,
 “ much less surpassing him : He seems
 “ to have been the only one, that in this
 “ corrupt and flattering Age understood,
 “ and was thorough Master of what be-
 “ longs to the Office of an Historian : He
 “ banished all human Prejudices, and seat-
 “ ing himself on the most venerable Chair
 “ of Truth, like a severe Censor, who
 “ is to pass Judgment, not on Citizens, but
 “ on all the mighty Kings and Princes on
 “ Earth, condemns one, blames another,
 “ absolves a third ; others he exalts with
 “ the highest Encomiums, equalling them
 “ in a manner with celestial Beings. It
 “ is not then to be wondered, that his
 “ History, translated into all the best
 “ Languages, flies all over *Europe*, ad-
 “ ding Courage to the Brave, reprim-
 “ anding the Poltroons, counselling
 “ Republics, admonishing Princes, re-
 “ straining Subjects within Bounds, and
 “ instructing Mankind in general.”

BERNARDO SEGNI writes, that he was
 the

the chief Favorite of Pope *Clement* ; that, in 1531, he made him Governor of *Bologna*, and was the first Layman who had been sent to govern that City. He was in this Post when the Pope made his splendid Entry into *Bologna*, on the 8th of *December*, 1532, where he was met on the 13th of the same Month by *Charles V.* Our Historian assisted at the pompous Coronation of the Emperor, on *St. Matthias's* Day, with several Princes that came to this Solemnity, from whom he received many Civilities, every one courting his Company, for the Benefit they received from his instructive Conversation.

ONE Day the Emperor, being informed that *Guicciardini* attended his Levee, gave immediate Orders for his being admitted into his Dressing-Room, and conversed with him on the Subject of the History in which he was engaged. In the mean Time one of the Courtiers informed his Majesty that a Murmur was risen amongst several Persons of Quality, and Officers of the Army, who, for many Days together, had been desiring an Audience, without

being allowed that Honour. The Emperor, holding *Guicciardini* by the Hand, entered the Drawing-Room, and thus addressed the Company: “ Gentlemen! I am informed that you think it strange that I gave Admission to *Guicciardini* before you; but I desire you would consider, that in one Hour I can create an Hundred Nobles, and a like Number of Officers in the Army, but I cannot produce such an Historian in the Space of Twenty Years. To what Purpose serve the Pains which you take to execute your respective Functions in the Camp or in the Council, if Historians, for the Instruction of your Descendants transmit not an Account of your Conduct to Posterity; who are they, that have informed Mankind of the heroic Actions of your Ancestors, but Historians? It is necessary then to honour them, that they may be encouraged to convey the Knowledge of your illustrious Deeds to Futurity. Thus, Gentlemen! you ought neither to be offended nor surprized at my Regard for *Guicciardini*, since you have as much Interest in his Province as myself.”

By

BY Letters writ to him by *Pietro Bembo*, we are informed, that *Guicciardini* lived sometimes at *Bologna*, and sometimes at *Florence*, according as the Affairs of the Public required. In *February*, 1532, he sent a Letter to *Florence*, containing some Instructions; and, in *April*, he was ordered by the Pope to come and reform the State, and put *Alessandro* in Possession of that Government. He obtained from *Clement*, when he was at *Bologna*, a Brief, in which were contained many Privileges, both Spiritual and Temporal, for himself, and his Wife, and their nearest Relations. Notwithstanding his prudent Government, *Varchi* observes that there were several in *Bologna* dissatisfied with his Severity, and in general they disliked to have a Layman for their Superior; but this must be said in his Excuse, that in those tumultuous Times he was obliged to keep every one, without Exception in Subjection, by which Means he quieted that turbulent City, which he could not have effected by Mildness. He was in this Government at the Death of *Clement VII.*
in

in 1534, when he despised the impending Danger that he was threatened with by his Enemies for his Severity who concealed their Anger in the Pope's Life-time, but now seemed determined to take their Revenge. As he was not only a wise, but also a courageous Magistrate, he raised immediately a Thousand Men, punished some of the Mutineers, and provided for the Safety of himself and his Friends, in doing of which he put in practice this Doctrine, contained in his Fourteenth Precept. "He who does not understand how to govern Cities, and People, ought to be taught, That by punishing a Few he may quiet the rest." And in his Fifty-seventh Precept, he says, "Man cannot well be governed without Severity, because the Malignity of Human Nature requires it; but at the same Time Care should be taken to insinuate, that Rigor is not pleasing to him that punishes, but made use of out of Necessity, and for the public Welfare."

AFTER the Death of *Clement*, *Guicciardini* was resolved to quit that Government,

ment, as he apprehended the People would no longer submit to his Commands; but the Senate having considered that many Disorders might happen, if they were left without a Governor in the Time of the vacant See, they beseeched him to continue, promising him he should have all the Assistance requisite; to which he at last consented.

BUT several Noblemen were highly dissatisfied with him and among the rest *Galeazzo Castelli* and *Girolamo Pepoli*, who till now had been Fugitives. As soon as *Clement* was dead, they came into *Bologna* at Noon-day, accompanied by several of their Friends, and by some out-lawed Persons, well-armed. This Manner of proceeding was very displeasing to the Governor, who looked upon it as done in contempt of his Person, and therefore meditated how to revenge the Affront. One Evening two proscribed Felons, under *Pepoli's* Protection, were taken up by the Officers as they were walking the Streets, and carried to Prison: *Guicciardini*, without any farther Process, ordered

ordered them to be immediately executed. Count *Girolamo Pepoli*, in great Wrath, got a Number of his Friends together, and was going in quest of the Governor to seek his Revenge; but the Senate sent some of their Members to *Pepoli*, to desire him to return to his House, and not occasion a Tumult, which he complied with for fear of disobliging the Senate.

So far *Pompeo Vizzani*, an Historian of *Bologna*; who also relates that *Guicciardini* ever after owed the *Bolognese* a Grudge. *Remigio* adds, that as soon as *Guicciardini* was apprised that a new Governor was appointed, he resolved to quit the Town; and though the *Pepoli* had threatened his Destruction, because he had hanged two of their Bravo's, yet he took with him but a few Horsemen, besides his own Servants; and as it was his direct Road, he would not avoid passing by the Palace of the *Pepoli*; but, contrary to the Expectation of every Body, they remained quiet, without giving him any Disturbance in the Journey.

AFTER

AFTER this happened the tragical and unexpected Death of the Duke of *Florence*, on which occasion the Senate assembled, and our *Francesco*, who was in all the secret Conferences, had Influence enough to procure the Election of *Cosmo*, Son of *Giovanni de' Medici*, which gave Occasion to *Giorgio Vassari* to place him next to the Duke, in his fine Painting in the old Palace, representing this Election. Whilst this Prince governed, *Guicciardini* lived retired, without meddling in public Affairs, unless when his Advice was required. All he now desired was a quiet Recess, that he might have Leisure to continue his History, already begun, to which he was earnestly sollicitated by *Jacopo Nardi*, who was himself a famous Historian. But in the Midst of his Retirement, Pope *Paul III.* coming from *Nice*, passed through *Florence*; where, first in Person, then by Letters, and, at last, by means of Cardinal *Ducci*, he earnestly endeavoured to persuade, I may say, pressed him, to come to *Rome*: But he resisted all Entreaties, and all the

the advantageous Offers that were made him, which entirely discredits what *Varchi* has writ of his Avarice and Ambition. But as many are apt to judge of inward Motives from outward Appearances, they imagined his Refusal proceeded from his being married, and without Sons, which made it impracticable, either for him, or his Descendants, to become Prelates or Cardinals. He might also consider that, as there was no good Harmony between his Master and the Pope, it would not be decent in him to quit the former, and serve the latter. But the chief Reason seems to have been the natural Desire that Men, satiated with Business, have for the Sweets of Retirement; on which being fully determined, he disengaged himself from the Pope's Sollicitations in a handsome Manner, and gave himself up entirely to the finishing of his History at *Emma*, his delightful Country-house, often mentioned by the Historians, because it was his, and memorable even then for the Encampment and Quarters of the Prince of *Orange*, at the Siege of *Florence*, in 1529.

OUR Author enjoyed but a short Time the Tranquility and Peace of Mind he expected to find in his Retirement: For he died the 27th of *May*, 1540, in the 59th Year of his Age, and, as reported, of Grief. For the Duke, in whose Election he had so much interested himself, put in practice all the Methods he could devise, to oppress the remaining Spirit of Liberty in his Country, which he effected by impoverishing his Subjects. In the Time of the Republic, no Nobleman was qualified for any Post in the Government, till he had made himself Member of one of the several Trading Companies in *Florence**. This Regulation making it no Disgrace for a Gentleman to keep a Shop in the Wholesale way, the Trade of *Florence* was become so extensive, as to render it one of the richest Cities in *Europe*. At *Pisa* is shewn to this Day the Place, from whence they say the *Florentine* Gallies set out, once every

* Noblemen in *Italy* are no more than what we call the Gentry; and though there is a very great Number of Marquisses and Counts, yet, as in *Italy* there is no Precedence amongst Gentlemen, they claim no particular Rank.

every Year, with Woolen Goods for *England*, which they reached, by coasting along the *French*, *Spanish* and *Portugal* Shores.

DUKE *Cosmo*, to lessen this Trade, promoted the Noblemen to Places of Honour and Profit, without requiring the aforesaid Qualification, and erected the Order of *St. Stephen* from which all Traders were excluded. In the Institution of this Order, he followed the Plan of that of *Malta*, the most material Difference between the two consisting only in the Article of Celibacy ; for like them the Knights of *St. Stephen* make Proof of their Birth, fight against the *Turks*, and enjoy Commenderies. As the sagacious Duke knew the Passion of Mankind for transmitting their Titles to their Posterity, he made a Decree, That any Gentleman who would erect a Commenderie upon his Estate of no less Value than Ten Thousand Crowns, He, and his eldest Heirs Male, should enjoy it with the Title of Commendeurs. But in Failure of Male Issue, such Commenderies should devolve to the Order, which in the Course
of

of so many Years has greatly enriched it. The Grand Master, who is now the present Emperor, has all these Commenderies in his Disposal. The Duke, to allure his Gentry into this new Order, endowed the Knights with many valuable Privileges, and amongst the rest that of no Executions being performed to take Place against either their Persons or Effects. These Privileges, together with a natural Passion the *Italians*, as much as any other Nation, have for Titles, induced great Numbers of the *Tuscan* Nobility to retire from Trade, whereby many Noble Families are impoverished, and rendered dependant on the Sovereign †. These and the like Mea-

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sures

† The Great Duke *Cosmo* the Third, when on his Travels, was treated in *England* with a particular Regard by several Noblemen and Gentlemen, to whom he afterwards sent Presents of Wine during his Life, and when any of them, or their Family, came into his Dominions, he never failed shewing them Marks of his Gratitude. In the Year 1712, on the Arrival at *Florence* of the Honourable *Thomas Clifford*, eldest of the Grandsons to the Lord of that Name, who had been High Treasurer when the Great Duke was in *England*, his Royal Highness conferred on him the Order of *St. Stephen*: And, as I well remember, Sir *Henry Bedingfeld*, Bart. was to have received the Cross, and have been installed at that Juncture, had his Time permitted him to stay in *Florence*, till her Majesty's

tures were so grievous to *Guicciardini*, that, as *Bernardo Segni* writes, he died of a broken Heart, and in Despair, because the Affairs of his Country were so ill conducted: Others have reported that, unable to bear the Sight of the deplorable State to which *Florence* was reduced, he prevailed on one of his intimate Friends to administer him Poison. But *Remigio*, *Rondinelli*, *Giovanni Imperiali*, and several other authentic Historians, intirely clear him from that Imputation, and assures he died of a violent Fever *.

HE

Majesty's Permission could be procured, as it had been for the other. On the Death of the said *Thomas*, the Honourable *Henry Clifford*, his younger Brother, was knighted. We have also the Commendeur *Cosmo Nevil*, whose Father Count *Migliabrucci*, descended of a very ancient *Tuscan* Family, erected a Commenderie on his Estate, to which the present Commendeur *Cosmo Nevil* his Son by one of the Heiresses of the *Nevils* of *Holt*, is intituled.

* There are still existing several Republican Families in *Florence*, and I myself have heard some detest the Memory of *Guicciardini* for contributing to enslave his Country by espousing the Interest of the Family of the *Medici*, and think that he was so far from taking to Heart the Exercise of an arbitrary Administration, that he might probably have had a Hand in forming the Plan of the Order of *St. Stephen*; which, however, was not confirmed till after his Death.

THE AUTHOR

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HE was buried with Honour, but without Pomp, having expressly ordered that no Shew or Funeral Oration, as was customary, should be made, nor any Inscription put upon his Grave ; which last was observed till the Year Sixteen Hundred and Twenty, when the Family repaired the great Chapel, and the following Inscription was ordered to be engraved.

FRANCISCO GUICCIARDINO Senat:

Peri F.

Vigentem Ætatem Rebus maximis

Agendis impendit

In conscribenda præclara Historia

Vergentem

Cujus Negocium an Ocium

Gloriosius incertum

Nisi Occii Lumen Negocii Famam

Clariorem reddisset.

FRANCESCO was tall, and of a venerable Aspect ; he had large Shoulders, a plain Face, a strong and robust Constitution. The Family have a Picture of him, that seems to have been drawn in those

THE LIFE OF

Days; such another is in the House of Signor *Nicolo Panciatichi*: One of them probably is that mentioned by *Giorgio Vasari*, in the Third Part of his *Lives of the Painters*, where he says, “ At that Time I painted several Pieces, and amongst the rest the Picture of Messer *Francesco Guicciardini*, who was just returned from *Bologna*, at his Country House near *Montici*, which pretty well resembled him, and was admired.” One of his Pictures is to be seen in the Great Duke’s Gallery, in the left Wing, amongst the famous Historians, and another in the right, amongst the Men of great Learning. There is also in the Museum of Sig. *Carlo Tomaso Strozzi*, a Brass Medal, struck in those Days, which seems to have a good Resemblance; on the Backside is represented a Rock, without any Inscription, alluding to his Constancy and Intrepidity. In general those who make mention of him agree, that he was a great Professor of the Law, Learned, Upright, and Incorrupt: Of this latter he gave a sufficient Proof, by his leaving so little Wealth, after the numberless Opportunities he had of accumulating

accumulating Riches. He was of a quick and high Conception, of singular Judgment, had a good Memory, was profound and prudent in his Counsels, efficacious in Persuading, eloquent in Speech, and had a peculiar Talent in describing the Characters of Men. He was choleric, but not rash, affable, but no Lover of Jest, preserving ever a certain Gravity. He wrote several Books, as the *Sacking of Rome*, *Considerations on State Affairs*, *Counsels and Admonitions*, some Letters, several Law Cases, and an Epistle in Verse, which makes *Crescimbeni* place him amongst the *Tuscan* Poets. As soon as his History appeared in public, it was immediately translated into *Latin*, and has had several Editions in most of the *European* Languages; an unquestionable Argument of the Author's extraordinary Merit.

ENOUGH has been said of his History; to which I shall only add the Testimony of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, who in his Third Letter *On the Study of History*, calls him the *Admirable Historian*; and in his Fifth says of him, *I should not scruple to*

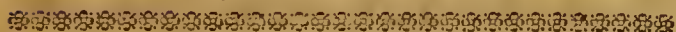
prefer Guicciardini to Thucydides in every Respect.

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI left a Wife, who lived till the Year 1559, and Three Daughters. Two married into the Family of the *Capponi*, and the other into that of *Ducci*. He had Three Brothers, *Luigi*, *Jacopo*, and *Girolamo* : From *Jacopo* came the famous Author of the Commentaries of *Europe*, from 1529 to 1560, who also wrote a Description of the *Low Countries*, &c. His Name was *Lodovico*, and lies buried at *Antwerp*. From his other Brother, the Senator, *Girolamo* is descended, in a direct Line, *Francesco Maria Gaetano*, who was a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his late Royal Highness the Grand-Duke *Cosmo*.





Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K I.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

*Causes which produced the Italian Wars.
Expedition of Charles the Eighth, King
of France, into Italy. Expulsion of
Piero de' Medici from Florence. Re-
bellion of Pisa. Conquest of Naples.*



PROPOSE to relate what past
in our Memory in *Italy*, since
the *French*, invited by our own
Princos, came with powerful Armies
and

A. D. and interrupted her Repose: A Subject,
1490. for its Greatness and Variety highly memorable, and full of melancholy Events; *Italy* for a long Series of Years having laboured under all such Calamities as the Almighty is wont, in his Displeasure, to inflict on wretched Mortals for their Impieties and Wickedness. From the Knowledge of so many, so various, and so important Incidents, every one may draw Instructions of some sort or other, conducive both to his own and to the Public Good. By numberless Examples it will evidently appear, that human Affairs are as subject to Change and Fluctuation as the Waters of the Sea, agitated by the Winds: And also how pernicious, often to themselves, and ever to their People, are the precipitate Measures of our Rulers, when actuated only by the Allurement of some vain Project, or present Pleasure and Advantage. Such Princes never allow themselves Leisure to reflect on the Instability of Fortune; but, perverting the Use of that Power which was given them to do good, become the Authors of Disquiet and Confusion by their Misconduct and Ambition.

BEFORE

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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BEFORE I proceed to give my Reader *A. D.*
 an Account of the Troubles in *Italy*, toge- *1490.*
 ther with the Causes from whence so many
 Evils were derived, it will not be impro-
 per to observe, that our Calamities affected
 us with so much the greater Terror and
 Sensibility, as the Minds of Men were
 perfectly at Ease, and the Country at that
 Time in a State of profound Peace and
 Tranquillity. It is certain that, for above
 a thousand Years back, at which Period
 the *Roman* Empire, weaken'd by a Change
 of her antient Institutions, began to de-
 cline from that Pitch of Grandeur, to the
 attaining of which the most amazing
 Virtue and good Fortune had equally
 contributed, *Italy* had at no Time enjoy'd
 a State of such compleat Prosperity and
 Repose, as in the Year 1490, and some
 time before and after. The People also
 had taken Advantage of this Halcyon
 Season, and been busied in cultivating all
 their Lands, as well Mountains as Vallies;
 and being under no Foreign Influence,
 but governed by their own Princes, *Italy*
 not only abounded with Inhabitants and
 Riches, but grew renowned for the Gran-
 deur

A. D.

1490.

deur and Magnificence of her Sovereigns, for the Splendor of many noble and beautiful Cities; for the Seat and Majesty of Religion, and for a Number of great Men of distinguished Abilities in the Administration of public Affairs, and of excellent Accomplishments in all the Sciences, and in every noble Art: She had also no small Share of military Glory, according to the Knowledge and Practice of Arms in those Days.

*Lorenzo
de' Medici.*

A N happy Concurrence of Causes had preserved her in this flourishing Condition. Amongst the rest, common Fame ascribed no small Share to the Virtue and active Spirit of *Lorenzo de' Medici*: A Citizen of such distinguished Merit in the State of *Florence*, that the whole Affairs of that Republic were conducted as he thought proper to advise or direct. And it was indeed to the Happiness of her Situation, the Ingenuity of the People, and the flourishing State of the public Credit, and her Opulency, that this Commonwealth chiefly owed her Power and Influence; for the Extent of its Dominion was not great.

LORENZO,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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LORENZO, by Marriage, had made a *A. D.*
 strict Alliance with Pope *Innocent* the *1490.*
 Eighth; which gave him still greater
 Credit and Authority with the Princes of
Italy. He knew how destructive it would
 prove, both to himself and the Republic
 of *Florence* if any of them should in-
 crease his Dominions at the Expence of
 his Neighbours; and was therefore ever
 watchful to prevent the most minute
 Cause of Strife or Misunderstanding
 among them, lest the Ballance of Power,
 which then subsisted in *Italy*, should suffer
 any Alteration.

FERDINANDO of *Aragon*, King of *Ferdinan-*
Naples, was in the same Disposition: A *do King*
 very sagacious Prince, and highly esteem'd; *of Naples.*
 tho' formerly he had often discovered an
 ambitious and turbulent Spirit. He was
 instigated, at this very Time by *Alfonso*,
 Duke of *Calabria*, his eldest Son, to re-
 sent the Injury done to *Giovanni Galeazzo*
Sforza, Duke of *Milan*, who had mar-
 ried *Alfonso's* Daughter. The Duke had
 been excluded from the Administration of
 all public Affairs by his Uncle *Lodovico*
Sforza;

A. D. *Sforza* ; who through the Weakness and
1490. dissolute Behaviour of *Bona*, this young
Prince's Mother, had procured for him-
self the Tuition of him. Having enjoy'd
the Regency Ten Years together, and,
by little and little, rendered himself also
Master of the Fortresses, Army, Treasure,
and whatever supported the State ; he at
length refused, under Pretence of his
Nephew's Want of Capacity, to resign
his Office ; continuing to govern, (tho'
his Kinsman was above Twenty Years old)
not as Guardian, or Regent, but with all
the Formality and Actions of the Prince,
tho' he did not assume the Ducal Title.
Ferdinando, however, remained attentive
to his first Object, which was the Pre-
servation of the public Peace : And, there-
fore, would neither gratify his own
warlike Disposition, nor the just Re-
sentment of his Son, at the Hazard of
so invaluable a Blessing. But he was the
more cautious of creating any Divisions in
Italy, because he had perceived, in some
late dangerous Commotions, that he was
hated by his Subjects ; particularly by a
Party among his Barons, who were still
attached

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attached to the old *French* Interest; and, ^{A. D.}
as he apprehended, would, in case of any ^{1490.}
Rupture, invite them to invade his Domi-
nions. To this Motive may be added, a
Desire he had to counterballance the
formidable Power of the *Venetians*, which
at that Time alarmed all *Italy*; and he
was sensible, that his Union with the
other Powers, with the States especially
of *Milan* and *Florence*, was requisite for
that Purpose.

LODOVICO SFORZA, tho' of a turbu- ^{Lodovico}
lent and ambitious Temper, could not ^{Sforza.}
but be pleased with the same Measures.
For the *Venetian* Power was as much
dreaded by the Sovereigns of *Milan*, as
by other Princes. Besides, it was much
easier for him to preserve his usurped Au-
thority in a Time of Peace and Tranquil-
lity, than amidst the Confusion and Ca-
sualties of War. And tho' he was always
apprehensive of *Ferdinando* and *Alfonso*,
yet he could depend upon the peaceable
Disposition of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, who
was also jealous as well as himself, of the
King of *Naples*. He was persuaded,
more-

A. D. moreover, that the Animosities which
 1490. then subsisted between *Ferdinando* and the
Venetians, rendered an Union between
 them impracticable: And being satisfy'd
 that he would find it dangerous to act
 without, and difficult to procure an Alli-
 ance, he thought himself secure from any
 Attempt that could be made against him
 from that Quarter.

THERE was then the same Inclination
 for Peace in *Ferdinando*, *Lodovico*, and
Lorenzo; partly from the same, and partly
 from different Motives: So that a Con-
 federacy many Years before contracted,
 in the Name of *Ferdinando*, King of
Naples, *Giov. Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan*,
 and the Republic of *Florence*, for the
 mutual Defence of each other's Domi-
 nions, was with Ease corroborated and
 confirmed. This League, of some Years
 standing, as I observed, but interrupted
 by various Accidents, was renewed for
 Twenty-five Years, in 1480, and acceded
 to by all the inferior Powers of *Italy*. The
 chief Design of the contracting Parties
 was to keep down the Power of the *Ve-*
netians;

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netians; who were without question superior to any of the Confederates separately, but not able to cope with them when united. Their Senate seemed to consider themselves, and acted, as a Body, that had little or no Connection with the other People of *Italy*; widening every Breach, and cherishing and fomenting Discord amongst them, in hopes of attaining, by these Means, the Sovereignty of *Italy*. The whole Tenor of their Councils and Conduct manifested their Design: But it appeared most plainly, when, upon the Death of *Filippo Maria Visconti*, Duke of *Milan*, they attempted, under the plausible Pretence of preserving the Liberties of the *Milanesè*, to make themselves Masters of that Dutchy: And in a more recent Instance, when with open Violence they endeavoured to seize the Dukedom of *Ferrara*. This Confederacy produced the intended Effect, so far as to restrain the Ambition of the *Venetians*, but it did not unite the Confederates in a sincere and solid Friendship amongst themselves. Their Envy and Emulation of each other made them watchful of every Motion,

A. D.
1490.

The
Venetians.

A. D. Motion, and jealous of every Measure, that
 1490. they conceived might any way increase the
 Power or Credit of their Neighbours. This Precaution, however, did not make the Peace less secure : On the contrary, it created a most ardent Impatience in them all to quench immediately those Sparks which, if neglected, might break out into a general Conflagration. Such then was the State of Affairs ; these were the Foundations for the Tranquility of *Italy* ; so connected, and counterpoised, that there was not only no Appearance of a present Change, but the most discerning Person could not devise, by what Counsels, Accidents, or Powers, such a Peace could be disturbed.

IN *April* 1492, *Lorenzo de' Medici* was
 1492. taken off by a premature Death ; not being
 quite Forty-four Years of Age. His
 The Death of *Lorenzo de' Medici*. Death was a grievous Stroke to his Country which, by means of his Reputation, Prudence, and a Genius which naturally disposed him to all honourable and excellent Undertakings, wonderfully flourished in Riches, and in all those Blessings and
 Ornaments

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Ornaments which in human Affairs are the usual Attendants of a long and secure Peace. His Death was indeed lamented by all *Italy*, not only on account of his Zeal and Sollicitude for the public Security, and for his great and successful Diligence in moderating and curbing the frequent Jealousies and Diffensions of *Ferdinando* and *Lodovico Sforza*, Princes of equal Ambition and Power.

A. D.
1492.

LORENZO's Death was followed a few Months after by that of Pope *Innocent* Eighth; which laid the Foundation of further Calamities. The Public had been but little benefited by him: Yet he was commendable in one Particular; which was, that after he had soon laid down the Arms he had unsuccessfully taken up, at the Commencement of his Reign, against *Ferdinando*, at the Instigation of his discontented Barons, giving himself up entirely to Indolence and Ease, he never would concern himself, nor suffered any that depended on him to intermeddle in any Project that might disturb the Happiness of *Italy*.

Death of
Innocent
the 8th.

A. D.

1492.

Election
of Alex-
ander VI.

To *Innocent* succeeded *Roderigo Borgia*, of *Valenza*, a Royal City in *Spain*. He was an antient Cardinal, and one of the most considerable Prelates in the Court of *Rome*. His Election was owing partly to the Disputes that arose between the two Cardinals, Heads of Factions, *Ascanio Sforza*, and *Giuliano* of *San Piero in Vincola*, but chiefly to a Simony unknown in former Times: For *Borgia* openly corrupted many of the Cardinals, some with Money, and others with Promises of profitable Places and Benefices, of which he had many at that Time in his Power; and they, without any Regard to the Precepts of the Gospel, were not ashamed of making a Traffick of the sacred Treasures, under the Name of divine Authority, and that in the most high and eminent Seat of the Christian Religion.

CARDINAL ASCANIO had the principal Hand in this detestable Work, and was employed as Agent for such abominable Contracts. He influenced several with Hopes of Preferment, and
also

also by his bad Example: For his Heart ^{A. D.} being corrupted by an immoderate Thirst ^{1492.} of Riches, he bargained, for the Price of his Iniquity, to have the Vice-Chancellorship, (the most profitable Post in the Pope's Disposal) the Revenues of divers Churches and Castles, and even the Pope's own Family Palace, with all its magnificent Furniture of an immense Value. But divine Justice overtook him; for he became an Object of Scorn and Hatred to all Mankind, who were fill'd with Horror at an Election procured by such black and enormous Artifices; especially as *Borgia's* impious Life was every where notorious *. The King of *Naples*, we are assured, upon hearing the News, dissembled his Grief in public, but with Tears, (which he was not accustomed to shed at the Death of his Children) told his Queen, that this Creation would prove fatal to *Italy*, and a Scandal to Christendom: A Prognostic worthy of the Prudence of *Ferdinando*!

* *Ascanio* was carried Prisoner into *France*, and after his Return, according to *Giovio*, was poisoned.

A. D.

1492.

ALEXANDER the Sixth, (for so he would be call'd) was endowed with wonderful Acuteness, and extraordinary Sagacity; had a surprising Genius in suggesting Expedients in the Cabinet, an uncommon Efficacy in Persuasion, and in all Matters of Consequence an incredible Application and Dexterity. But these great Qualities were abundantly overballanced by his Vices. For he was of very impure Manners, Insincere, Shameless, False, Faithless and Irreligious, without Probity, insatiably covetous, immoderately fond of Dominion, barbarously cruel, and ardently solicitous, at any Rate, to exalt his Children, who were numerous, and amongst them some (that he might not want Instruments to execute his villainous Designs) as bad as himself*.

*Piero de'
Medici.*

THE Death of *Lorenzo de' Medici* occasioned a Change of no less Importance in *Florence*, than that of *Innocent* to the Church. *Piero*, the eldest Son of *Lorenzo's* three Sons, succeeded, without

Oppo-

* *Cæsar, Francesco, Giuffrè, and Lucretia*, were the Names of his Children.

Opposition, to his Father's Greatness *: *A. D.*
 But neither his Age nor Understanding any ^{1492.}
 ways qualify'd him for so important a
 Charge; nor was he capable of proceeding
 with that Moderation in his domestic
 and foreign Concerns, nor had he that
 Prudence to temporise with his Allies,
 for which his Father was so remarkable:
 who by his Conduct, whilst living, had
 improved both the Republic and his own
 Condition, and, dying, left every one con-
 vinced, that principally thro' his Means
 the Peace of *Italy* had been preserved.

PIERO no sooner undertook the
 Administration of the Republic, than he
 swerved from his Father's Counsels, and
 not consulting the principal Citizens, with-
 out whose Concurrence seldom any Re-
 solutions were taken in Matters of Im-
 portance, suffered himself to be intirely
 directed by *Virginio Orsini*, his Relation;
Piero's Wife and Mother being both of
 the *Orsini* Family. At *Virginio's* Persua-
 sion he contracted so great a Friendship
 D 3 . with

* *Lorenzo's* three Sons were *Piero*, *Giovanni* who was
 afterwards Pope *Leo* the 10th, and *Giuliano*.

A. D. with King *Ferdinando* and his Son *Alfonso*,
 1492. on whom *Virginio* depended, as gave
Lodovico Sforza great Cause to fear, that
 whenever the *Aragonians* * should think
 proper to break with him, they would
 also, thro' the Interest of *Picro*, have the
 Assistance of the *Florentines*. This Cor-
 respondence, the Source and Origin of all
 the ensuing Evils, tho' in the Beginning
 carried on very privately, did nevertheless
 create Suspicions in the vigilant and pene-
 trating Mind of *Lodovico*.

By antient Custom all Christian
 Princes were used to send Ambassadors to
 pay their Obedience to the new Pontiff,
 and adore him as Vicar of Christ on
 Earth. *Lodovico Sforza*, who had a Pro-
 pensity of affecting to appear superior in
 Prudence and Contrivance to others, had
 proposed that all the Ambassadors of the
 League should enter *Rome* the same Day,
 and present themselves in a Body to the
 Pope in Consistory, and one, in the Name
 of all, should make a formal Harangue.

This

* The first of the then reigning Race of *Neapolitan*
 Kings was King of *Aragon*, and from him his Descend-
 ants were called *Aragonians*.

This, he suggested, would convince all *A. D.*
Italy, there was so much Unity and Be- ^{1492.}
 nevolence amongst them, that they would
 appear as a Body under one Head, and
 give great Reputation to the League;
 and that such a Conduct was then ne-
 cessary, not only Reason, but a fresh
 Example seemed to demonstrate. For
 the late Pope, grounding his Hopes on
 the Divisions of the Allies, which he in-
 ferred from their separate Counsels, and
 their paying him Obedience at different
 times, had ventured to attack the King-
 dom of *Naples*.

FERDINANDO very readily approved
 of this Scheme of *Lodovico*, as did also
 the *Florentines*; *Piero* not contradicting in
 Council, out of Deference to their Au-
 thority; but he murmured at it in private.
 He was deputed by the Republic for one
 of their Ambassadors, and had determined
 to make a magnificent and almost Royal
 Appearance, but perceived, that by en-
 tering *Rome* and presenting himself before
 the Pope with the other Ambassadors, the
 Splendor of his Pomp in so great a Crowd

A. D. would be much eclipsed. In which juvenile Vanity he was confirmed by *Gentile* Bishop of *Arezzo*, his Colleague, who, in regard to his Episcopal Dignity, and of his Profession of those Studies which they call Humanity, had expected to make the congratulatory Oration to the Pope, in the Name of the *Florentines*, and was extremely mortified that, by this unusual and unexpected Method, he should be debarred from displaying his Talents in so august and solemn an Assembly. *Piero*, incited partly by his own Levity, and partly by the Bishop's Ambition, but unwilling that *Lodovico* should know that he opposed his Motion, requested the King to represent to him, that upon Consideration he had Reason to think the Ceremony could not be performed in common without Confusion, and therefore advised him to consent that each City in conformity to past Usage should proceed separately. The King was willing to gratify him; but not so far as to take all the Blame and Displeasure of *Lodovico* upon himself; and therefore he satisfied him more in the Effect than
he

he pleased him in the Manner of accomplishing it: For he frankly owned that he had no other Cause for disagreeing to what he had before consented but the Importunities of *Piero de' Medici*. *Lodovico* shewed more Discontent at this sudden Change, than the Nature of such a Trifle seemed to require; and complained very bitterly that it being known to the Pope, and the whole Court of *Rome* that he was the Author of the first Resolution, it should now be retracted on purpose to make him contemptible in the Eyes of the World. But he was much more displeased to find, by this little and insignificant Accident, that *Piero* held private Intelligence with *Ferdinando*; of which he was much more convinced by what ensued.

FRANCESCHETTO CIBO of *Genoa*, a natural Son of *Innocent* the 8th, was in Possession of *Anguillara*, *Cervetri*, and some other small Castles in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. After the Death of his Father, he went to live in *Florence*, under the Protection of *Piero de' Medici*,

A. D. *Medici*, whose Sister, *Maddalena*, he had

1492.

married. He was no sooner arrived, than

Piero perswaded him to sell those Castles
Virginio to his Friend *Virginio Orsini* for Forty
Orsini the Thousand Ducats. *Ferdinando* was at
 first Cause of the Dis- the Bottom of this Affair, and secretly
 turbances lent the best Part of the Purchase-Money;
 in Italy. not doubting but it would turn to his

Advantage to have *Virginio Orsini*, who
 was an Officer in his Army, and also his
 Relation, Master of such strong Places
 near *Rome*. For he ever considered the Power
 of the Pontiffs as a very likely Instrument
 to disturb the Quiet of his Kingdom,
 which was an antient Fief of the *Roman*
 Church, and extends itself for a great
 Number of Miles along the Borders of
 the Ecclesiastical State. He remembered
 the Troubles they had occasioned both to
 his Father and himself; and being sensi-
 ble of the Disputes too apt to arise on ac-
 count of Limits, Tributes, Collation of
 Benefices, Appeals of his Barons, besides
 other Cavils common to all neighbouring
 Princes, especially between a Vassal and
 the Lord of the Fief, he always made it a
 principal Point to keep under his Power
 and

and Influence all, or, at least, the chief of *A. D.*
the *Roman* Barons, and more so now, ^{1492.}
that he imagined *Lodovico Sforza* had too
great an Ascendant over the Pope's Coun-
sels, by means of his Brother, Cardinal
Ascanio. Some thought he was appre-
hensive that the Ambition and Hatred of
Pope *Calixtus* the 3d, who was *Alexander's*
Uncle, might be hereditary: *Calixtus*,
out of an immoderate Desire of aggran-
dizing his Nephew *Piero Borgia*, intended,
after the Decease of *Alfonso*, Father to
this *Ferdinando*, to have sent an Army to
dispossess him of his Kingdom, which he
pretended was reverted to the Church:
And he would have executed this Scheme,
had he not been prevented by Death; un-
gratefully forgetting, as Men are but too
often unmindful of Benefits, that it was
through *Alfonso*, in whose Kingdom of
Aragon he was born, and whom he had
long served as his Minister, that he had
been invested with so many Ecclesiastical
Benefices, and chiefly through his Interest
had been created Pope.

CERTAIN

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CERTAIN it is, that great Men do not always discern and determine right ; the Weakness of human Understanding will sometimes betray itself by Signs. *Ferdinando*, though reputed a Prince of great Prudence, did not sufficiently consider the Consequence of this Purchase, which could be to him of little Benefit, in Comparison of the great Mischiefs it might produce, by provoking those to enter on new Schemes, whose principal Business and Interest it was to preserve Peace and Tranquillity. The Pope, enraged at this Encroachment on the Pontifical Authority, pretended, that these Castles by their Alienation without his Knowledge, according to the Ecclesiastical Law, devolved to the Apostolic See. Then, publishing to the World the Purposes for which they were bought, he filled all *Italy* with his Complaints against *Ferdinando*, *Piero*, and *Virginio* ; protesting at the same time he would, to the utmost of his Power, preserve the Dignity and Rights of the Holy See.

LODOVICO

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1492.

L'ODOVICO SFORZA, who was ever jealous of *Ferdinando's* Actions, and had vainly persuaded himself, that *Alexander* might be directed by his and *Ascanio's* Counsels, considered the Diminution of the Pope's Grandeur as his own : But what gave him the most Uneasiness, was the convincing Proof he now had of the Friendship and strict Union between *Piero* and *Ferdinando*. To obviate the dangerous Consequences, and to ingratiate himself with his Holiness, he incited him by all he could suggest to preserve his own Dignity, putting him in mind that he ought not so much to regard what was transacting at present, as to reflect how highly it affected his Honour that the Majesty of that eminent Degree to which he was exalted should be so openly despised by his own Vassals in the very first Days of his Pontificate. That it was not to be supposed that the covetous Devise of *Virginio*, the Importance of the Castles, or any other like Reason, had induced *Ferdinando* to this Step, but only his Inclination to try the
Patience

A. D. Patience and Spirit of his Holiness by

1492.

Injuries which at the first View appeared but small, but if tamely suffered, would encourage him to attempt every Day still greater Provocations. That the present King had the same Ambition as his Predecessors, who were ever Enemies to the *Roman Church*, had often carried their Armies against the Popes, and more than once seized on *Rome*. Had not the same *Ferdinando* twice sent his Son, at the Head of his Troops, to the Gates of that City? Had he not been almost continually in Enmity with the Popes? And what incited him at present against his Holiness in particular, was not only the Example of the other Kings, not only his natural Ambition of Dominion, but also a Desire of Revenge for the Injuries he had received from his Uncle Pope *Calixtus*. He begged of him to give serious Attention to what he said, and not to put up with the first Affront, unless he could sit down content with his pompous Titles and external Marks of Veneration; for by tamely submitting, he would incur the universal Scorn of Mankind, and give Encouragement

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ment to farther Encroachments, and more dangerous Plots: Whereas, if he exerted himself on this Occasion, he would establish his Reputation, and preserve the Majesty, Grandeur, and Veneration due to the *Roman* Pontiff. To Persuasions he added what was still more efficacious, for he instantly lent him Forty Thousand Ducats, and provided Three Hundred Men at Arms, to be maintained between them, but to be disposed of as his Holiness should think proper. To avoid, however, embroiling himself in new Troubles, he solicited *Ferdinando* to dispose *Virginio* to find out some fair Means for appeasing the Pope, hinting to him the fatal Consequences which would ensue from so inconsiderable a Beginning. But with more Freedom and Earnestness he admonished *Piero de' Medici*, reminding him how often *Lorenzo* his Father, equally a Friend to himself and *Ferdinando*, had impartially composed their Disputes; whereby he greatly contributed to the Preservation of the Peace and Tranquillity of *Italy*. He therefore intreated him to imitate his illustrious Parent, rather than, by entering
into

A. D.

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1492.

into new Schemes, give Occasion to, nay urge some Potentate to pursue Measures prejudicial to the general Good. He represented to him how greatly the long Friendship between the Houses of *Sforza* and *Medici* had contributed to their mutual Prosperity and Reputation, and laid before him the Injuries his Father, his Ancestors, and the Republic of *Florence* had sustained from the *Aragonians*; and how often *Ferdinando*, and *Alfonso* before him, had both by Fraud and Arms attempted to make themselves Masters of *Tuscany*. These Remonstrances did more Harm than Good. For *Ferdinando* thought it beneath him to yield to *Lodovico* and *Ascanio*, from whose Instigations he persuaded himself that the Indignation of the Pope proceeded, and being pressed also by his Son *Alfonso*, he secretly persuaded *Virginio* to take Possession of the Castles, without Delay, by Virtue of his Contract, promising to support him against any Opposition. But, with his usual Artifice, he proposed to the Pope several Plans for an Accommodation; and at the same time privately counseled *Virginio* to agree on no other Terms than

keeping

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keeping Possession of the Castles on satisfying his Holiness with a Sum of Money. A. D. 1492.
Hence *Virginio* taking Courage, several times refused those Conditions, which *Ferdinando* himself, not to incense the Pope too far, earnestly pressed him to accept.

LODOVICO, finding all his Endeavours to detach *Piero* from *Ferdinando's* Interest frustrated, and that thro' his Obstinacy he was likely to be deprived of the Friendship of the Republic of *Florence*, which had ever been his chief Dependance, alarmed at the imminent Danger, thought it high Time to consult his Safety. He was satisfied the *Aragonians* eagerly desired to remove him from the Government of his Nephew; for tho' *Ferdinando*, Master in the Art of Simulation and Dissimulation*, kept himself on the Reserve, *Alfonso*, a Man of a very frank and open Temper, still freshly exclaimed at the Oppression of his Son-in-law; and uttered, with

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more

* *Simulation*, for instance, is when a wicked Man puts on a Mask of Goodness, and *Dissimulation* when an Enemy conceals his Hatred within his Breast.

A. D. 1492. more Passion than Prudence, several injurious Words with Menaces. He was also informed how *Isabella*, the Wife of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, a Woman of a masculine Spirit, was ever solliciting her Father and Grandfather, that, if they were not to be moved by the Shame of the Indignity offered to her Husband and herself, they would take some Concern at least for their Lives, of which they and their Children stood in Danger *. But what most affected *Lodovico*, was the Temper of his People, who were not only exasperated at the unusual Taxes he had raised, but detested him for his Treatment of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, their rightful Lord. And tho' he laboured to render the *Aragonians* suspected to the People of *Milan* of a Design to make themselves Masters of that Dutchy, as belonging to them of antient Right by the Will of *Filippo Maria Visconti*, who bequeathed it to *Alfonso* Father of *Ferdinando*, and that, to facilitate this Design, they endeavoured to remove him from

* In *Giovio*, and *Corio*, a Letter to this Purpose from *Isabella* to her Father and Grandfather is to be seen at length.

from the Government; yet he found this Artifice not sufficient to moderate the general Hatred, but that it rather confirmed the Public in the Opinion, that the detestable Ambition of Government is capable of leading Men to the Commission of all Kinds of Wickedness. Wherefore after he had for some time revolved in his Mind the present State of Affairs, and the dangerous Situation he was in, he directed all his Endeavours to provide himself with new Supports and Alliances; which he thought might be easily effected: For knowing that the Pope was provoked against *Ferdinando*, and that the *Venetians* were desirous that the Confederacy, which for so many Years had baffled all their Designs, should be dissolved, he proposed to both to enter into a League with him for their common Benefit. But Revenge, and every other Passion in *Alexander's* Breast, gave way to the immoderate Ambition of seeing his Children exalted. Other Popes, to conceal their Infamy, were wont to term them Nephews; but he took Delight in letting all the World know they were his Children. As at

A. D.
1492.

A. D.

1492.

present no readier Way offered to gratify his high Views for their Preferment, he solicited *Ferdinando* to give one of the natural Daughters of *Alfonso* in Marriage to one of his Sons, and for her Portion some rich Territory in the Kingdom of *Naples*. 'Till *Alexander* was excluded from all Hopes of succeeding in this Match, he gave rather his Ear than his Heart to *Lodovico's* Offers. But had they been accepted of at that Time, the Peace of *Italy* would not, perhaps, have been so soon disturbed. *Ferdinando* was not averse to the Match; but *Alfonso*, abhorring the Pope's Pride and Ambition, would never give his Consent; wherefore, without shewing any Dislike to the Alliance, they raised Difficulties concerning the Dowry, and so eluded the Pope's Request, at which *Alexander* was so provoked, that he resolved at once to engage with *Lodovico* and the *Venetians*; being incited thereto by Ambition, Rage, and in some measure by Fear. For not only *Virginio*, who was very powerful in the Ecclesiastical State on account of the Protection of the King of *Naples* and the *Florentines*,
and

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and for his many Followers among the *Guelpb* Party, but also *Prospero* and *Fabritio Colonna*, Heads of that noble Family, were Officers in *Ferdinando's* Army; and the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, a Person of great Authority, suspecting the Pope had a Design against his Life, was retired to *Ostia*, of which Place he was Bishop, and had declared for *Ferdinando*, tho' he had been formerly his professed Enemy, and had instigated, first his Uncle Pope *Sixtus*, and then *Innocent* against him.

THE *Venetians*, tho' pleased at these Misunderstandings, were not yet so forward to enter into the new League as was expected, on account of their Distrust of *Alexander's* Sincerity, which became every Day more and more suspicious. They also considered how they had been often betrayed by the Popes *Sixtus* and *Innocent*, his immediate Predecessors. From the last they had suffered many Inconveniences, without reaping any Benefit; and *Sixtus*, in the greatest Heat of the War against the Duke of *Ferrara*,

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which. he himself had pressed them to undertake, changing his Mind, employed not only his spiritual but also his temporal Arms, in conjunction with the rest of the *Italians*, against them. Yet the Sollicitations of *Lodovico*, who had been indefatigable in treating with the particular Members, prevailed at length on the Senate ; and in *April* 1493, a new Confederacy was formed between the Pope, the *Venetians*, and *Giovanni Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan* (whose Name was made use of in all public Transactions) for the common Safety, and particularly for the Support of *Lodovico* in the Government. It was stipulated that the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* should each of them send immediately Two Hundred Men at Arms to protect the Ecclesiastical State, and to assist him with these, or if needful with greater Forces, to dispossess *Virginio* of the Castles *.

League
between
the Pope,
Lodovico,
and the
Venetians.

THESE Proceedings greatly alarmed
all

* The Armies in those Days consisted of three different Corps, Men in heavy Armour on Horseback, Light Horse, and Infantry.

all *Italy*, especially as the Duke of *Milan* ^{A. D.} had abandoned a League which for ^{1492.} Twelve Years had been the Pledge of its Security. For in that Confederacy it had been expressly stipulated, that no one of the Confederates should enter into any new Alliance without the Approbation of all the contracting Parties; wherefore that Union being now dissolved, in which consisted the Safety of the Whole, and the Minds of Princes full of Suspicions and Resentment, who could not but foresee, that, to the universal Detriment, Fruits must grow up conformable to these Seeds?

As soon as *Alfonso* Duke of *Calabria*, and *Piero de' Medici* were apprised of this Alliance, they judged it the best Way to be before-hand, and therefore willingly hearkened to *Prospero* and *Fabritio Colonna*; who, at the secret Instigation of the Bishop of *Ostia*, offered to seize on *Rome* by Surprise, with the Help of the *Ghibelline* Faction, and their own Men, provided the *Orfini* would assist them, and the Duke of *Calabria* could be, at the same time, within three Days March of that

E 4

City.

A. D. City. But *Ferdinando*, now become more
 1492. willing to pacify the Pope, by correcting
 his former precipitate Measures, than to
 provoke his farther Rage, would by no
 means agree to a Scheme that must pro-
 duce greater Evils ; and resolved, in good
 Earnest, to try how to compromise the
 Affair of the Castles ; being persuaded
 that, when this Obstacle was removed,
 Matters would easily return into the same
 peaceable Channel. But by removing the
 Causes, the Effects that sprung from them
 are not always removed. For, as it fre-
 quently happens that Resolutions taken
 out of Fear seldom appear sufficient to
 the Fearful, thus *Lodovico* imagined he
 had not applyed Remedy enough to his
 Danger, and began to reflect, that the
 Pope's Interest and that of the *Venetians*
 being different from his, he could not
 rely on them for any Length of Time,
 and might therefore be brought into great
 Streights. The Fear of this induced him
 to attempt a Cure of the present Malady
 at all Events, without considering how
 dangerous it is to give a stronger Dose than
 the Nature of the Disease, or the Consti-
 tution

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tution of the Patient will admit: And, *A. D.*
1492.
as if plunging into greater Difficulties could only free him from the first, since he could not rely on his own Forces, or his Friendship with the *Italians*, he resolved on inviting *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which he laid Claim from the antient Rights of the House of *Anjou*.

THE Kingdom of *Naples*, in the Bulls Claim of
the French
and Investitures of the *Roman Church* improperly called *Sicily* on this Side the to the
Kingdom
of Naples.
Faro, is a most antient Fief of the Church. It was unjustly seized by *Manfredi*, a natural Son of the Emperor *Frederic* the Second, and was by *Urban* the Fourth, with *Sicily*, given in Fief, under the Name of the *Two Sicilies* (one on this Side, the other on the other Side the *Faro*) in the Year 1264, to *Charles* Count of *Provence* and *Anjou*, Brother to that *Lewis* King of *France*, who, famous for his Exploits, but more so for his Piety, deserved to be inrolled amongst the Saints. This *Charles* by Force of Arms got Possession of those Dominions, the Title of
which

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which had been conferred on him by the Authority of the Church, and left it to his Son *Charles* the Second. To him succeeded *Roberto*, and to him, who left no male Issue, *Giovanna*, Daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, who died before his Father. *Giovanna*, for her Weakness, and dissolute Course of Life, was very much despised; and the Descendants of *Charles* the First by *Charles* the Second (who left several Children) endeavoured to dethrone her. The Queen, to procure Assistance, adopted for her Son *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to that King *Charles*, whom the *French* thought proper to distinguish by the Name of *Sage*, for gaining many Battles without running much Risk. This *Lewis* marched into *Italy* with a powerful Army, where he found *Giovanna* taken off by a violent Death, and *Charles*, called *Durazzo*, a Descendant of the first *Charles*, placed on the Throne. *Lewis* was very successful, but in the Midst of his Victories died of a Fever in *Puglia*: So the Family of *Anjou*, by the aforesaid Adoption, got only *Provence*, which till then had been possessed

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possessed by the Kings of *Naples*, Descendants of the first *Charles*. From this Adoption arose the Claim of the Dukes of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*. And the Popes, whenever they had any Quarrel with the *Neapolitan* Kings, invited the *Anjouins* to invade their Dominions; which was often done, but without Success;

To *Charles Durazzo* succeeded his Son *Ladislao*, who dying without Issue in 1414, the Crown came to his Sister *Giovanna* the Second, a Name inauspicious to that Kingdom as well as to both these Queens: For she, likewise, giving herself up to Lasciviousness, put the Reins of Government into the Hands of those she intrusted with her Person. This Deportment gave Pope *Martin* the Fifth an Opportunity of sending for *Lewis* the Third, Count of *Provence*, to invade her Dominions: But she extricated herself at that Time from all Difficulties, by adopting *Alfonso* King of *Aragon* and *Sicily*, with whom, nevertheless, she afterwards quarrelled, and cancelled her Deed upon
the

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1492.

the Pretext of his Ingratitude. And then calling to her Aid and adopting the same *Lewis*, who by War had constrained her to make the first Adoption, she got the better of *Alfonso*, expelled him her Kingdom, and reigned peaceably the Remainder of her Days. Dying without Issue she left her Dominions by Will, as was reported, to *René*, Duke of *Anjou*, and Count of *Provence*, Brother of the adopted *Lewis*, who died within a Year of his Adoption. But many of the Barons being dissatisfied with the Succession of *René*, and spreading a Report that the Will was forged by the *Neapolitans*, a considerable Party of the Barons and People recalled *Alfonso*. This produced the bloody Wars between *René* and *Alfonso*, that for so many Years tore to Pieces so noble a Kingdom, which alone, in a manner, supported all the Expences. Hence, from contrary Inclinations, arose the *Aragonian* and *Anjouin* Factions, not to this Day wholly extinguished; their Claims and Pretensions still varying in Process of Time as the Popes, influenced more by Ambition or by the Necessity of the

the Times than by Justice, granted In-
vestitures.

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ALFONSO fought several Battles with *René*, and being more powerful, as well as a better Soldier, came off always victorious. Dying without legitimate Issue, he left the Kingdom of *Naples*, as an Acquisition of his own, and not belonging to the Kingdom of *Aragon*, to this *Ferdinando*, his natural Son, without mentioning his Brother *Giovanni* who succeeded him in the Kingdoms of *Aragon* and *Sicily*. *Giovanni*, *René*'s Son, with the Assistance of the principal Barons, gave *Ferdinando* a great deal of Trouble at the Beginning of his Reign: But at last by his Valour and good Fortune he defeated them, and had nothing more to fear during the Life of *René*, who survived his Son several Years. *René* died without Issue male, but by Will made *Charles*, his Brother's Son, his Heir; who likewise having no Issue bequeath'd all his Dominions to *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*. And tho' the Duke of *Lorraine*, Son of a Daughter of *René*, laid claim to his

A. D. his Grandfather's Patrimony, *Lewis* took
 1492. immediate Possession of *Provence*: As for

his Right to *Anjou* it was not disputed, being a Fief of *France* not inheritable by Females. The Pretensions of the *Anjouins* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by this Will, devolved to *Lewis*; whose Son, *Charles* the Eighth, was a very powerful Adversary to *Ferdinando*; as indeed any King in his Situation had it in his Power to prove; for the Kingdom of *France* had never been in a more flourishing Condition since the Time of *Charles* the Great, for the Number of its Inhabitants, the Glory and Power of its Arms, its Riches and Authority, its Dominions being lately extended in all the three Parts into which the Antients divided *Gaul* *. Forty Years before, *Charles* the Seventh, after many and dangerous Battles, had added to his Sovereignty *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, which had been possessed by the *English*: *Lewis* the Eleventh; in his latter Years, was in Possession of *Provence*, *Burgundy*, and almost all *Picardy*; and *Charles* the Eighth, by Marriage, became Master of *Britany*.

Present
 State of
 the King-
 dom of
France.

CHARLES

* This antient Division of *Gaul* is to be seen in the Beginning of *Cæsar's* Com. *Pliny* lib. 4. *Strabo* lib. 4.

CHARLES wanted no Inclination to attempt the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples* as his Right. A fond Ambition had taken Root in him, by a Kind of natural Instinct from a Child, and was continually cultivated by his favourite Attendants. They flattered his Vanity by suggesting that he had a fair Opportunity of surpassing the Glory of his Predecessors, since the Acquisition of *Naples* would facilitate the Conquest of the *Turkish* Empire. *Charles's* Designs being no longer a Secret, *Lodovico Sforza* thought it an easy Matter to persuade him to what he was already inclined. He placed also no small Confidence in the Interest and Acquaintance which the Family of *Sforza* had contracted in the Court of *France*, for both he and his Brother before him had by many Demonstrations of Affection, and repeated kind Offices, continued a Friendship, begun in *Francesco* their Father's Time, who thirty Years before having received from *Lewis* the Eleventh, who always abhorred meddling with the Affairs of *Italy*, the City of *Savona* in Fief,

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Fief, together with all his Pretensions on *Genoa*, formerly in subjection to his Father, never failed to support that Prince with his Counsel and Assistance in all his Dangers. *Lodovico*, to render his Sollicitations of greater Weight, and thinking it too dangerous to be singular in kindling so great a Combustion, applied to the Pope with Arguments proper to gratify both his Ambition and Resentment, endeavouring to convince him, that neither the Friendship, nor Arms of any of the *Italian* Powers, would enable him to revenge himself on *Ferdinando*, or procure Preferments for his Children. *Alexander* embraced the Scheme, from a natural Love of Novelty, or to frighten the *Aragonians* into what he could not obtain by fair Means: On which he concerted Measures with *Lodovico*, and they very secretly 'dispatched' Agents to sound the Inclinations of the King of *France* and his Privy Council. And flattering themselves they would not be averse to the Proposals, *Lodovico* was wholly bent to execute his Design, and sent to the *French* Court publicly, tho' under another Pretence,

Charles

Charles Barbiano, Count of *Belgioiosa*, who, *A. D.*
 after many private Conferences with the ^{1493.} King and his Ministers, was introduced in-
 to the Council, where, in the Presence of a ^{The Pope}
 great many Prelates, Nobles, and Peers of ^{and Lodovico}
 the Realm, he addressed the King, as we ^{folli-}
 are told, in the following Manner. * ^{cit Charles}
^{the 8th to}
^{come into}
^{Italy.}

LODOVICO SFORZA makes a Tender to ^{Count Bel-}
 your most Christian Majesty of his Treas- ^{gioiosa's}
 ure and Forces, to assist you in the Acqui- ^{Speech be-}
 sition of the Kingdom of *Naples*. And if ^{fore the}
 any one should, for particular Reasons, sus- ^{King of}
 pect his Faith and Sincerity in this Propo- ^{Council,}
 sal, I am persuaded that Person will re-
 nounce his ill-grounded Suspicion, and in-
 tirely change his Opinion, when he comes
 to reflect, with the least Attention, on the
 antient and perpetual Obligations which
Lodovico himself, his Brother *Galeazzo*,
 and their Father *Francesco*, first lay under to
Lewis the Eleventh your Father of most glo-
 rious Memory, and afterwards to your Ma-
 jesty. And much greater Cause will such
 a Person have for his Change of Sentiments,

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if

* This Speech much resembles a Letter writ in *Latin*
 by *Lodovico Sforza* to the King: Which Letter is to be
 seen in *Corio*.

A. D. if he considers, that from this Enterprize
 1493. many Disadvantages may arise, and but little
 Hopes of any Profit can possibly result to
Lodovico: Whilst the Fruits of Victory
 to your Majesty will be a vast Increase of
 Glory, the additional Dominion of a fine
 Kingdom, and an auspicious Opportunity
 for the unbounded Extent of your Fame
 and Empire. A just Revenge for the
 Plots and Injuries suffered from the *Ara-*
gonians is all that *Lodovico* can propose to
 himself. If, on the other Hand, this At-
 tempt, however promising, should not
 succeed, your Majesty's Greatness would
 nevertheless remain undiminished. But in
 such a Case, every one knows that *Lode-*
vico, hated by many, and despis'd by all,
 for such a Miscarriage, could find no Re-
 medy to the Dangers which must ensue.
 What Room then can there be for suspec-
 ting the Counsel of a Prince, whose Cir-
 cumstances, whatever be the Event, are so
 unequal and disadvantageous with regard
 to those of your Majesty? The Motives
 that induce you to so glorious an Expedi-
 tion are so evident of themselves, that they
 admit of no Doubt. The Justice of the
 Cause,

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Cause, the Facility of the Conquest, and the vast Fruits of the Victory, which are all the Arguments that are principally to be considered, concur in a most ample Manner. It is well known to all the World that the lawful Title is, for several good Reasons, solely vested in the House of *Anjou*, of which your Majesty is the legitimate Heir : And the Succession is justly claimed by the *French* Monarchs, as Descendants from *Charles*, who first of the Blood Royal of *France* obtained that Kingdom by the Authority of the *Roman* Pontiffs, and by his own Valour. And the Conquest is as easy as it is just : For who knows not how inferior in Forces and Authority the King of *Naples* is to the first and most powerful King in Christendom ? How great and formidable is the Name of the *French* all over the World ! And what a Terror are your Arms to all Nations ! The petty Dukes of *Anjou* never attacked the Kingdom of *Naples* without putting it in very great Danger. It is still fresh in Memory, that *Giovanni*, Son of *René*, had in his Hands the Victory against this *Ferdinando*, when it was wrested from him by Pope

A. D. *Pius* with the more powerful Assistance of
 1492. *Francesco Sforza*, who, as every one knows,
 acted in that Affair by the Direction of your
 Royal Father. What then may not be per-
 formed by the Arms and Authority of so
 mighty a King, who has, besides, greater Op-
 portunities, and lesser Difficulties than at-
 tended *René* and *Giovanni*? For those Prin-
 ces, who then obstructed the Victory, can
 with the greatest Ease annoy the King of *Na-
 ples*: The Pope by Land, on account of the
 Neighbourhood of the ecclesiastic State, and
 the Duke of *Milan*, from the Conveniency of
Genoa, by Sea. Neither will you have any
 Opposition from the rest of the *Italians*:
 For the *Venetians* will not expose them-
 selves to Dangers and Expences, nor de-
 prive themselves of the Friendship they
 have for a long Time cultivated with the
 Kings of *France*, for the Sake of preserving
Ferdinando the most bitter Enemy of their
 Greatness. Nor is it credible that the
Florentines will depart from their natural
 Attachment to your Family: And were
 they inclined to it, of what Consequence
 would that Opposition be to so great a Pow-
 er? How often has that warlike Nation
 of

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of the *French*, in Spite of all *Italy*, passed the *Alps*, and as often, with inestimable Glory and Felicity, returned with Victory and Triumph! And when was the Kingdom of *France* so glorious, so happy, so powerful, and in so calm and settled a State of Peace with all its Neighbours, as at present? Had the Times been thus propitious in your Father's Days, he would, without Doubt, have undertaken this Expedition. Nor are the Difficulties which your Enemies have to struggle with less increase than your Advantages over them. The *Anjouin* Party is still powerful in that Kingdom. Great Dependance is to be laid on the many Princes and Nobles unjustly banished of late Years. Besides, so provoking have been the Injuries that *Ferdinando* has, on all Occasions, offered to the Barons and People, and even to those of the *Aragonian* Faction; so great has been his Faithlessness, so insatiable his Avarice, and the Examples of Cruelty of him and his eldest Son *Alonso* so horrible and notorious, that no one doubts but the whole Kingdom, moved by an implacable Hatred against them, and the never-fading Memory of the Liberality, Sincerity,

A. D. 1493. *ty, Humanity, and Justice of the Kings of France, would, with infinite Alacrity, rise in Arms at the News of your Coming. The Resolution then itself is sufficient to make you victorious, and no sooner shall your Troops have passed the Alps, and the Fleet be got together in the Port of Genoa, but Ferdinando and his Children, terrified with the Consciousness of their own Wickedness, will think more of the Means to escape, than how to defend themselves. Thus with all desirable Ease and Success you will recover to your Family a Kingdom, tho' not to be compared, in Greatness, to France, yet a Kingdom extensive and rich, and much the more to be valued for the infinite Profits and Advantages that from thence will redound to your Country. Those I could enumerate, were it not known that the French Generosity proposes to itself higher Ends, and that the more worthy and exalted Conceptions of so glorious and magnanimous a King are directed, not to his own Interest, but to the Good of the whole Christian World. And what fairer Occasion, what Opportunity more inviting can there be for this Purpose,*
what

what Situation can be more commodious, or better chosen for making War upon the Enemies of our Religion? Every one knows that in some Places the Sea is but seventy Miles wide between the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Greece*; the latter a Country oppressed and torn to Pieces by the *Turks*, and longing for nothing more than to see the Christian Banners displayed. How easy will it then be to penetrate into the very Bowels of the *Turkish* Empire, and to take even *Constantinople*, the Seat and Head of that Monarchy! And to whom can it more properly belong, than to yourself, most potent King, to apply your Mind and Thoughts on so holy an Enterprize? Of whom is it more requested than of you, to whom God has given wonderful Strength and Power, who have the Title of *most Christian*, and have before you the Examples of your glorious Predecessors, who have often marched Armies out of this Kingdom, sometimes to deliver the Church of God, oppressed by Tyrants, sometimes to invade the Infidels, and to recover the most holy Sepulchre of *Christ*, by which they have exalted the Name and Majesty of the

A. D. Kings of *France*, to the highest Degree of
 1493. Renown. By such Counsels and Means,
 with such Actions and Ends, did that most
 heroic *Charles* obtain the Title of *Great*,
 and became Emperor of *Rome*; and as
 you bear his Name, so now an Opportu-
 nity offers of bearing his Sirname and Glo-
 ry. But why do I lose Time with these
 Arguments? as if it were not more con-
 venient, and more according to the Order
 of Nature, to regard Preservation before
 Acquisition? How must it stain your Cha-
 racter, with all these Advantages, to suffer
 any longer *Ferdinando* to enjoy such a
 Kingdom, possessed by Kings of your Blood
 in a constant Succession of near Two Hun-
 dred Years, and rightfully and manifestly
 belonging to yourself! Who knows not
 how much it concerns your Dignity to
 recover it, and how holy an Undertaking
 it would be to free those People, who are
 your natural Subjects, and adore your
 Name, from the excessive Tyranny of the
Catalans? This Undertaking then is most
 just, easy, necessary, and no less glorious
 and sacred; especially, as it paves a Way
 to a Project worthy of a most Christian
 King

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King of *France*. Nothing is more evident than that your Honour and Dignity are highly concerned in the Recovery of your Right; and that it will be an Act of Piety to deliver those People who are your natural Subjects, and adore your glorious Name. Be assured then, O most magnanimous King! that not only Men, but God himself has openly called you to this Expedition, by presenting you with the surest Prospect of compleat Success, from such great and manifest Opportunities at the Beginning. And what greater Happiness can any Prince enjoy than to find those Resolutions which tend to his own Glory and Greatness, accompanied with such Circumstances and Consequences, as make it evident that they are not only conducive to the public Benefit and Safety, but much more to the Promotion and Exaltation of the whole Christian Commonwealth?

A. D.

1493.

THIS Proposition of *Lodovico* met with no ready and chearful Reception from the great Men of *France*, especially from those of the greatest Authority for their Nobility and the Opinion of their Prudence. The

War

Objections
to an Ita-
lian Expe-
dition.

A. D.

1493.

War now proposed would, according to their Sentiments, be attended with many Difficulties and Dangers not to be avoided in conducting Armies into foreign Countries at a great Distance from *France*, and against Enemies esteemed very powerful. For *Ferdinando* was every where celebrated for his consummate Prudence; and his Son *Alfonso* was in no less Reputation for his Valour, and Skill in the military Art: And as the former had oppressed, in the Course of Thirty Years Reign, a great Number of Barons, it was thought he had accumulated immense Treasures. They considered that the King was not capable himself of conducting so important an Enterprize, and that those in whom he confided were but weak in Counsel, and unexperienced in the Management of Affairs both civil and military. To this they added the Want of Money, large Sums whereof would be necessary to carry so great a Project into Execution; and the disingenuous Artifices of the *Italians* to allure the King: For nobody could believe that any of them, especially *Lodovico*, noted above all the rest for breaking his Faith, would

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would endure to see the Kingdom of *Naples* in the Power of *France*. There-
A. D. 1493.
 fore they judged it difficult to make that Conquest, and much more so to preserve it. They considered how the King's Father, a Prince, who always regulated his Conduct by the Reality, not by the Appearance of Things, never would hearken to any Proposals concerning the Affairs of *Italy*, nor regard the Right to the Kingdom of *Naples* devolved on him, but constantly asserted, that to send Armies beyond the *Alps*, was only purchasing Troubles and Perils at the Cost of immense Treasures and *French* Blood. That it was first necessary to adjust Differences with the neighbouring Princes; for, besides sundry Occasions for Quarrels and Jealousies that subsisted with *Ferdinando*, King of *Spain*, many Injuries between *France*, and *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, and *Philip* his Son, Arch-duke of *Austria*, required Reparation, and could not be compromised without yielding to something very detrimental to the Crown of *France*; and their Emulation was such, that even then their Reconciliation would be more in Shew than

A. D. 1493. than in Sincerity; for what Conventions, though never so strong, could be able to insure us that, if our Army meets with any Accident in *Italy*, they will not invade the Kingdom of *Franco*? Nor was it to be expected that *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England*, would be less biased by the natural Aversion of the *English* towards the *French*, than by the Peace concluded a few Months since; since it was manifest that he came into it, rather because the King of the *Romans* had not complied with those Engagements that encouraged him to lay Siege to *Boulogne*, than for any other Reason.

James Graville and others against the Expedition.

THESE and such like Objections were raised amongst the Great Men, and debated sometimes among themselves, and sometimes before the King, to dissuade an *Italian* War; but above all *James Graville*, Admiral of *France*, who, though less regarded than formerly at Court, had yet by his established Reputation for Wisdom preserved his Authority with the People, with singular Vehemence opposed this Undeartking. But *Charles*, who was but Twenty-two Years old,

old, and by Nature of little Understand- A. D.
ing in human Actions, being inflamed with 1493:

a Thirst of Conquest and Glory, founded rather on Levity and sudden Impulse, than Maturity of Counsel, greedily listened to the Proposal, and would not hearken to the wholesome Advice of his prudent Ministers. Induced either by his own Inclination, or by his Father's Example and Precepts, he reposed but little Trust in the Great Men of the Kingdom, but, as soon as he came out of the Tuition of his Sister *Anne*, the Dutcheß of *Bourbon*, he would no longer hearken to the Counsels of the Admiral, and of others who had the principal Management in that Administration, but committed his Affairs to the Direction of some Persons of mean Condition, and almost all of them trained up in the Service of his Person; Part of whom, as the Counsels of Princes are often venal, were gained by *Lodovico's* Minister, who was assiduous in corrupting them, some with costly Presents, some with Hopes of great Estates in the new-conquered Country, and others with Expectations of Ecclesiastical Preferments:

All

A. D. 1493. All of these unanimously encouraged their Prince to follow his Inclinations. At the Head of these was *Stephen Vers*, a Man of mean Extraction in *Languedoc*, educated with him in the Palace, and created by him Seneschal of *Beaucaire*: This Man was supported by *William Briffonette*, who was first from a Merchant made General of *France*, and afterwards Bishop of *St. Maló*. He was not only put at the Head of the Administration of the Royal Revenues, in *France* called the *Finances*, but through *Stephen's* Interest was consulted in Affairs of the greatest Importance, tho' very little versed in Matters of State. These were assisted by the Sollicitations of *Antonello* of *San Severino*, Prince of *Salerno*, and *Bernardino*, of the same Family, Prince of *Bisignano*, with several other outlawed Barons of the Kingdom of *Naples*, who had resided several Years in *France*, and had been continually soliciting *Charles* to this Enterprize, by laying before the Ministry the extreme Disaffection, or rather Desperation of the *Neapolitans* in general, and the numerous Dependants and Followers which they promised themselves in that Kingdom.

SOME

SOME Days passed in Suspense before the final Resolution was taken. Not only the Ministry were dubious, but *Charles* also, tho' stimulated by a Desire of Glory and Empire, yet, restrained by Fear, was sometimes irresolute, sometimes inclined to take a Resolution contrary to what he had before determined. After some Struggle, however, his Inclination, and the unhappy Fate of *Italy* prevailed: When deaf to all pacific Counsels, and unknown to any one, except *Beaucaire*, and the Bishop of *St. Maló*, he signed a Convention with *Lodovico's* Ambassador; but the Conditions were kept very secret for several Months. The chief Articles were these: That whenever the King should think proper, either to conduct in Person, or send an Army into *Italy*, for the Conquest of *Naples*, *Lodovico* should give him a Passage through his Dominions, and supply him with Five Hundred Men at Arms, at his own Expence: That he should give him Liberty to equip what Vessels he pleased in the Port of *Genoa*, and also lend him Two Hundred Thousand Ducats before he left *France*.

A. D. France. On the other hand, the King
 1493. engaged to defend the Dutchy of *Milan*,
 and particularly to preserve *Lodovico* in his
 Authority, and to keep for that Purpose
 Two Hundred Lances in *Asti*, a City be-
 longing to the Duke of *Orleans*, as long
 as the War should last: At the same time,
 or not long after, the King with his own
 Hand signed a Writing, in which he pro-
 mised to confer upon *Lodovico* the Princi-
 pality of *Taranto*, as soon as he should be
 in Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

IT is certainly worth while to consider
 here the Variety of Times, and of worldly
 Affairs. *Francesco Sforza*, Father of *Lo-
 dovico*, a Prince of rare Prudence and Va-
 lour, tho' an Enemy to the *Aragonians*,
 for the provoking Injuries he had received
 from *Alfonso*, this *Ferdinando's* Father, and
 an antient Friend of the *Anjouins*, yet
 when *Giovanni*, Son of *René*, in the Year
 Fourteen Hundred and Fifty Seven, at-
 tacked the Kingdom of *Naples*, assisted
Ferdinando with so much Expedition, that
 the Victory was chiefly attributed to his Con-
 duct. The only Reason which induced
 him

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him to act in this Manner, was the Danger he thought the *Milanese* would be subject to, if a *French* Prince, whose Dominions were so near his own, should get Possession of so powerful a State in *Italy*. The same Motive had prevailed; not long before, on *Filippo Maria Visconti*, to abandon the *Anjouins* his hitherto Favourites, and set at Liberty *Alfonso* his Enemy; who being taken at *Gaeta* by the *Genoese* in a Sea-Fight, had been brought, with all the Nobility of his Kingdom, Prisoners to *Milan*. On the other Hand, *Lewis*, the Father of *Charles*, tho' often invited by many, and with the favourablest Opportunities, to assert his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and earnestly solicited by the *Genoese* to come and receive them for his Vassals, as his Father *Charles* the Seventh had done before, yet had constantly refused to meddle with the affairs of *Italy*, as a Scheme which would be attended with great Expence, many Difficulties, and prove, in the End, pernicious to the Kingdom of *France* *.

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G

At

* *Paolo Emilio* writes, that when *Roberto* of *San Severino* solicited *Lewis* XI. to come into *Italy*, *Lewis* replied,

A. D. 1493. At present the Opinions of Men are various, though, perhaps, the same Reasons, without any Variation, subsist. *Lodovico* invites the *French* to pass the Mountains, without dreading from a powerful King of *France*, in Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, that Danger which his very warlike Father apprehended from a little Count of *Provence*: And *Charles* is eager in carrying a War into *Italy*, preferring the Rashness of vulgar, unexperienced Ministers, to the Example of his Father, a King of Sagacity and long Experience.

The Duke of *Ferrara* counsels *Lodovico* to invite the *French*. Certain it is, that *Lodovico* was, at this Time, encouraged to invite the *French* by his Father-in-Law, *Ercole d'Este*, Duke of *Ferrara*, who was ardently desirous to recover the *Polesine* of *Rovigo*, a Territory contiguous to, and very important for the Safety of *Ferrara*. The *Polesine* had been taken from him in a War with the *Venetians* which lasted Ten Years, and he was persuaded he could no other wise compass his Design, than by involving all *Italy* in Confusion and Bloodshed. Besides this, it

was
ed, he had observed that none of his Predecessors had ever been able to preserve the Conquests they had made in that Country.

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was a common Opinion that though *Ercole* professed a great Friendship for his Son-in-Law, he yet owed him, in private, a violent Grudge: For in that War, though all the rest of *Italy* had declared in his Favour against the *Venetians*, *Sforza*, who then governed the *Milaneze*, for his own Ends, obliged the other Potentates, who were much superior in Strength, to make a Peace, and in the Articles gave the *Polesine* to the *Venetians*; and therefore as *Ercole* could not avenge himself of so great an Injury with Arms, he determined to do it by giving him pernicious Counsels. But when the News of what was in Negotiation beyond the Mountains, tho' from uncertain Authority, began to spread over *Italy*, the Minds of Men were variously agitated. To those who considered the Power of *France*, the warlike Inclination of the People, and the Divisions among the *Italians*, it appeared of the utmost Consequence. Others, reflecting on the King's Youth, his narrow Capacity, the natural Indolence of the *French*, and the Difficulties that attend great Enterprizes, were of Opinion, that this being rather the Effect

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Sentiments of the *Italians* concerning the *French* Expedition.

A. D. of juvenile Rashness, than founded on
 1493. Maturity of Counsel, though it threatned
 a Combustion, would vanish into Smoak.

FERDINANDO himself, against whom this Enterprize was levelled, did not seem to be much alarmed : He gave out, that if the *French* intended to attack him by Sea, they would find his Fleet no ways inferior to theirs, his Ports well fortified, and in his immediate Possession : So that none of his Barons were in a Condition to favour the Landing of an Enemy, as the Prince of *Rossano* and other Grandees had done, at the Invasion of *Giovanni d' Anjou*. As for the Expedition by Land, it would create many Jealousies, and was too long and tedious : For an Army must march through all *Italy*, before it could arrive at his Dominions ; and therefore every one had Cause to fear, and perhaps *Lodovico* more than any other, tho' he might pretend to the Contrary, by endeavouring to shew that the common Danger only concerned others ; because the State of *Milan*, lying so near *France*, the King had a fair Opportunity, and perhaps a greater Desire to
 make

make himself Master of it. And as the Duke of *Milan* was so nearly related to the King in Blood, how could *Lodovico* promise himself, that his Majesty would not deliver him from his Oppression ; particularly, as it was known, that *Charles* had, some few Years before, declared he would not suffer his Cousin *Giovanni Galeazzo* to be so unworthily abused. Again the *Aragonian* Affairs were not in such a Condition as, by their Weakness, to tempt the King to invade their Dominions. The Kingdom of *Naples* was well provided in many Respects, had a flourishing Body of Troops, abounded in Horses fit for War, was well stored with Ammunition and Artillery, with all Sorts of warlike Provisions, and with Plenty of Money and Means of procuring what more might be required. Besides, the King did not want for experienced Officers to put at the Head of his Armies, and had a Son, the Duke of *Calabria*, of known Reputation for his Valour and Conduct for many Years together, in all the late Commotions of *Italy*. He did not also doubt of the Assistance of the King of *Spain*, who was doubly related

A. D.

1493.

A. D. 1493. to him, as being his Cousin, and Brother to his Wife : And he was very certain, that King would never suffer the *French* to establish themselves in the Neighbourhood

Ferdinando of *Sicily*. With this Sort of Reasoning *Ferdinando* thought proper to amuse the Public, magnifying his own, and diminishing his Enemy's Forces, and Opportunities of hurting him. But, as he was a Prince of singular Prudence, and great Experience, he was inwardly very much affected : He well remembered the Trouble the *French* had given him in the Beginning of his Reign ; and seriously considered he had to do with a powerful and warlike Nation, and much superior to his ; in Cavalry, Infantry, Fleets, Artillery, and Treasure : A People, who, for their King's Glory, were ever willing to encounter Danger. On the contrary, his Subjects were jealous of all his Undertakings, and his whole Kingdom, in a manner full of Hatred against the *Aragonians*, or greatly inclined to his Rebels ; the Majority commonly desirous of a Change of Government, and readier to follow the Fortune of an Invader, than adhere to their Alle-

Allegiance : * His Troops were not in the good Condition he had boasted, nor the Money accumulated sufficient for his Defence; and the Tumults, when the War was once commenced, would disable him from raising any further Supplies : He had Enemies in all Parts of *Italy*, without one single true Friend. For what State had not felt the Weight of his Arms, or been cajoled by his Artifices ? Nor from *Spain*, according to the Custom and Condition of that Nation, had he any thing more to expect than ample Promises, and Appearances of vast Preparations, which would end in small and retarded Succours. His Fears were increased by several Predictions, prognosticating Calamities to his Family, which came to his Knowledge, at different Times, from old Papers, and from Persons, who, though ignorant of present Affairs, yet would pretend to foretell what was to come. These Things in Prosperity are little regarded, but too much in

A. D.

1493.

G 4

Adverfi-

* *Livy*, Lib. 1. Dec. 4. The *Neapolitans* abstain from Rebellion only when they are at a Loss to find a Power that will accept of their Allegiance.

A. D. 1493. Adversity. † Disturbed by so many Reflections, and the Danger appearing without Comparison greater than any rational Hope of Safety, he found he had no other Remedy, than by some Composition to induce the King of *France* to lay aside all Thoughts of invading him, or by removing some of the Causes which incited him to make War.

Measures
taken by
Ferdinando
for his
Security.

FEDERIGO, the second Son of *Ferdinando*, was married to a Sister of King *Charles's* Mother, by whom he had a Daughter called *Carlotta*, who was educated at the *French* Court, where *Ferdinando* had sent Ambassadors to treat about a Match for his Grand-daughter with the young King of *Scotland*. *Ferdinando* took this Opportunity of joining to them *Camillo Pandone*, who had before been his Agent at *Paris*, with Instructions to use their best Endeavours, by bribing, privately, the King's Ministers, with Gifts and Promises,

to

† It was pretended, that *St. Cataldo*, above 1000 Years before, had writ a Book of Prophecies concerning the Affairs of *Naples*; and at this Juncture had appeared to the Sacristan of the Church, where he was buried, and informed him where he might find the old Manuscript.

to turn his Mind from the *Italian Expedition* ; and if that Method was not sufficient, they were commissioned to offer his Majesty an annual Tribute, and any other Submission that might procure Peace.

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HE next made a diligent Use of all his Authority to compromise the Affair of the Castles with the Pope, laying all the Blame on *Virginio's* Obstinacy, and revived the Treaty of the Marriage which had been before negotiated. But his chief Design was to pacify and assure himself of *Lodovico Sforza*, Author and Promoter of all these Evils. He well knew his violent Resolutions had proceeded more from Fear than any Thing else ; and, therefore, preferring his own Security to that of his Grand-Child, he took several Methods to assure him that he would leave the Decision of *Giov. Galeazzo's* Affairs, and his Pretensions to the Dukedom of *Milan* to himself, without any Regard to the Persuasions of his Son *Alfonso*, who, encouraged by *Lodovico's* natural Pusillanimity, pressed his Father to force him from his new Alliance by Terror and Threats ;
with-

A. D. without conceiving, that the Timorous are
 1493. as often driven into precipitate Counsels
 by Despair, as the Rash, for want of reflecting on the Dangers they undertake.
A Treaty After many Difficulties raised, more by
between *Virginio* than the Pope, the Dispute about
the Pope the Castles was terminated, Don *Federigo*,
and Ferdi- who was sent for this Purpose to *Rome*, be-
nando. ing present at the Conferences. It was agreed that *Virginio* should pay over again to *Alexander* the Sum he had before paid to *Franceschetto Cibo* for the Purchase of the Castles; and a Match was concluded between Madama *Sances*, *Federigo*'s natural Daughter, and Don *Giuffre*, the Pope's youngest Son, though neither, as yet, of a proper Age for Wedlock.

THE Condition were, that Don *Giuffre*, in a few Months, should go to *Naples*, and receive in Dowry the Principality of *Squillaci*, with a yearly Income of Ten Thousand Ducats, and have the Command of an Hundred Men at Arms in *Ferdinando*'s Army. This confirmed the Public in the Belief that *Alexander*'s particular Reason for sending to treat in *France*, was to frighten the
 King

King of *Naples* into his Measures. *Ferdinando* endeavoured to persuade the Pope to enter into an Alliance 'with him for the common Defence : But *Alexander* raised so many Difficulties, that all he was able to obtain, and that with the greatest Secrecy, was a Brief for a defensive Treaty between them two only, for the Protection of each other's Dominions, in Case they should be attacked. As soon as these Articles were signed, the *Venetian* and *Milanese* Troops, who came to the Pope's Aid, were dismissed.

FERDINANDO flattered himself he should have equal Success in treating with *Lodovico Sforza*, who very artfully soothed the Allies ; sometimes making them believe, he never intended to favour the Inclinations of the *French*, which might prove so dangerous to all *Italy* : At other Times, he alledged the Necessity he was under, of giving a Hearing to the King's Proposals, on account of the Fief of *Genoa*, and the antient Confederacies between his Family and that of *France* : Then sending separately to *Ferdinando*, the Pope, and *Piero di*

A. D. *di Medici*, he gave each to understand, that

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he would use all his Interest to mitigate the King's fiery Temper. In this Manner he thought proper to amuse them, lest they should fall upon him before the *French* were in Readiness ; and he was the more readily believed, as every one thought it impossible he should not at least have considered his own Risque in inviting so potent a King into *Italy*, and recede from all his Engagements. The whole Summer was spent in these Negotiation, which were carried on so dexterously by *Lodovico*, that *Charles* took no Sort of Umbrage ; whilst *Ferdinando*, and the *Florentines*, neither despaired of, nor totally confided in, the Performance of his Promises.

ALL this while they were laying in *France*, with great Sollicitude, a solid Foundation for the Execution of this new Enterprize, on which the King, contrary to the Consent of almost his whole Nobility, was every Day more determined: And that he might meet with no Obstacles, he composed all Differences with *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, joint King and Queen of *Spain* ;
Princes,

A Treaty
between
Charles
the VIII.
and *Ferdi-*
nando
King of
Spain.

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Princes, in those Days, of great Reputation, for their Prudence, and for having settled a firm Peace in their Realms, which had before been very turbulent; as also, for having lately, after a Ten Years War, dispossessed the *Moors* of *Africa*, of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which they had possessed for near Eight Centuries, and brought it under the Banner of *Christ*.

It was stipulated in this Convention, consolidated with public Oaths in the sacred Temples, that neither *Ferdinando* nor *Isabella*, in both whose Names *Spain* was then governed, directly nor indirectly, should give any Aid to the House of *Aragon*, make any new Affinity with them, or any way whatsoever oppose this Expedition of *Charles*, who, to obtain these Obligations, began with a certain Loss for the Hopes of uncertain Gain, for he restored, without any Money *Perpignan*, and all the County of *Roussillon*, which had been mortgaged long since to *Lewis* his Father, by *Giovanni*, King of *Aragon*, the Father of *Ferdinando*. This Concession very much disgusted the *French* Nation: For

that the Concession of Roussillon and Perpignan was made by Lewis his Father, by Giovanni King of Aragon, the Father of Ferdinando.

A. D. that Province being situated at the Foot of the *Pyrenean* Mountains was, according to the antient Division, Part of *Gaul*, and hindered the *Spaniards* from invading *France* on that Side.

A Treaty
between
Charles
the VIII.
and *Maxi-*
milian.

FOR the same Reasons, *Charles* made Peace with *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans**, and his Son *Philip*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, who had several old and new Occasions given for their Enmity. These began when *Lewis*, *Charles*'s Father, took Possession of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Province of *Artois*, and many other circumjacent Countries, after the Death of *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and Earl of *Flanders*. For this Seizure was the Occasion of grievous Wars between *Lewis* and *Maria*, only Daughter of *Charles*, who, soon after her Father's Death, married *Maximilian*, and *Philip* her Son by him, who, *Maria* being dead, was lately come into Possession of his Mother's Patrimony. But now, more at the Desire of the *Flemings*, than by his own Inclinations,

* The Historian calls *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, though he was then Emperor; which Title was never given to the Emperors by the *Italians* in those Days, till they were crowned by the Pope in *Rome*.

clinations, *Maximilian* made Peace with *A. D.*
the *French*: To corroborate which, *Margaret*, *Philip's* Sister, though under Age, ^{1493.}
was espoused to *Charles*; but, after she had
been kept several Years at the *French*
Court, was repudiated, to make Way for
Anne, the only Daughter of *Francis* Duke
of *Bretany*, and Heiress to that Dutchy.
Maximilian, at the same Time, was doubly
injured, in his Daughter's Match, and in
his own; for he had already espoused
Anne by Proxy: But now finding himself
unable to carry on the War he had entered
into on this Account; that the Regency
of *Flanders*, by whose Counsels and
Authority that Country was governed,
was determined not to break with *France*,
in their Prince's Minority; and ob-
serving that *Spain* and *England* had
laid down their Arms, which they had
taken up against *France*, he also agreed to
a Peace; in Consequence of which, *Charles*
restored all the *Artois*, except the Forts,
which he also engaged to deliver up at
the End of Four Years, when *Philip*
would be of Age to confirm this Agree-
ment. The Reason given for parting with
Artois,

A. D. *Artois*, was, that at the Peace made with

1493.

Lewis, it had been on all Sides agreed that *Artois* should be considered as *Margaret's* Dowry, who had hitherto been kept in *France*, but was now sent back to *Philip* her Brother. *Charles* having thus secured Peace with all his Neighbours, fixed his Resolution of prosecuting his Expedition against *Naples* in the following Year; and gave Orders in the mean time for providing all Necessaries, to which he was constantly solicited by *Lodovico*.

Lodovico gives his Niece in Marriage to *Maximilian*.

As the Ambition of Mankind rises from one Step to another, so *Lodovico*, not satisfied with securing himself in the Government of *Milan*, now aspired at nothing less than to be created Duke, which he thought might be easily compassed, if the *Aragonians* were depressed. To give some Colour of Justice to this premeditated Piece of Iniquity, and more firmly to establish himself, he married his Niece, *Bianca Maria*, Sister of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, the present Duke, to *Maximilian*, who, after the late Death of his Father *Frederic*, had succeeded him in the Empire,

Lodovico

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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Lodovico agreeing to give her in Portion *A. D.*
Four Hundred Thousand Ducats, at dif- ^{1493.}
ferent Payments, and the Value of Forty
Thousand more in Jewels, and other
Things. *Maximilian*, on the other Side,
pleased more with the Money than the Al-
liance, to the Prejudice of his new Bro-
ther-in-law, *Giov. Galeazzo*, engaged to
invest *Lodovico* and his Descendants in the
Dukedom of *Milan*; as if that State had
been without a legitimate Duke ever since
the Demise of *Filippo Maria Visconti*.
The new Deed of Investiture was to be
drawn in a most ample Form, and signed,
on the last Payment of the Dowry.

THE *Visconti* are a noble Family in the
State of *Milan*, which during the bloody
Feuds between the two Factions of the
Guelfs and *Ghibellins* expelled the *Guelfs*
out of *Milan*; and, as it commonly hap-
pens at the End of Civil Wars, from be-
ing only Chiefs of a Party in one Quarter
of the Town, made themselves Masters
of the whole City. Some Years after, ac-
cording to the Custom of Usurpers, they
were desirous of possessing, in a legal
VOL. I. H Manner,

The
Visconti
Family.

A. D. 1492. Manner, what they had obtained by Force; and with ample Titles making more illustrious their Family: Wherefore they found Means of acquiring from the Emperors, who now began to make their Name more than Power known in *Italy*, first the Title of Captains, then Vicars of the Empire; and at last *Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti*, who stiled himself Count *Virtù* (an Earldom conferred on him by his Father-in-law, *John* King of *France*) obtained from *Winceslaus*, King of the *Romans*, the Dignity of Duke of *Milan*, for himself, and his Heirs Male. His two Sons, *Giovannmaria* and *Filippomaria*, one after the other succeeded him: They both died without Issue; and *Filippomaria*, by his last Will, left the Dutchy to *Alfonso*, King of *Aragon* and *Naples*, in Consideration of the Friendship contracted with him, at the Time he freed him from his Confinement: And also, because he imagined that the Dutchy, being defended by so powerful a Prince, ran no Risque of falling under the Dominion of the *Venetians*, who plainly manifested their Design on that State. But *Francesco Sforza*, a Man of great

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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great Power, and very much esteemed for his Knowledge and Experience in Civil and Military Affairs, by Force of Arms got Possession of the State, which he claimed in Right of his Wife, *Bianca Maria*, a natural Daughter of the last Duke *Filippo Maria*. In getting Possession of this Dutchy many Accidents concurred in his Favour; and especially that of having it in his Power to break his Word with those who had joined him, on his Promise of not attempting the Sovereignty. *Fran-cesco*, for a small Sum of Money (as was reported) might have procured the Investiture from the Emperor *Frederic*; but being confident he was able to support his Power by the same Means he had acquired it, he despised that Sort of Right: Thus the Dukedom descended to his Son *Ga-leazzo* without Investiture, to whom succeeded this *Giovanni Galeazzo* his Grand-son. *Lodovico* now acting an unnatural Part against his living Nephew, and an injurious one to the Memory of his deceased Father and Brother, asserted they had governed without a Title, and therefore the Dukedom was revolved to the Empire, and

A. D.
1493.

Lodovico
procures
for him-
self the
Investi-
ture of
the
Dutchy
of Milan.

A. D.

1493.

procuring for himself the Investiture from *Maximilian*, stiled himself not Seventh, but Fourth Duke. However, this Transaction was known but to few till the Death of his Nephew. He was wont to say, in Imitation of *Cyrus*, the younger Brother of *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, that he preceded *Galeazzo* his Brother, not in Age, but as being born after his Father was Duke; and found Means to obtain the Opinion of many Civilians in his Favour. This Reason, amongst others, was given in the Imperial Diploma; and, under a ridiculous Notion of palliating *Lodovico's* Ambition, by way of Clause it was added, That it was not the Custom of the Holy *Roman* Empire to grant Investitures to any that were in Possession of their Dominions by any other than the Imperial Authority; and that *Maximilian* had therefore rejected the Petition *Lodovico* had made for the Investiture in Behalf of his Nephew, because, without any previous Application to him, he had been acknowledged Duke by the People of *Milan*.

THE King of *Naples* was in Hopes, that this new Match would produce a Diffension between *Charles* and *Lodovico*, imagining it could not be agreeable to the former, that the King of the *Romans*, his Enemy on so many Accounts, should be supplied by the latter with so large a Sum of Money, and their Interest by this Affinity united. He also expected, that *Sforza*, on this Alliance, would take Courage, and boldly recede from the Engagement he had entered into with *Charles*. *Lodovico* was sagacious enough to encourage that King, and the rest of the *Italians*, in these Notions, and at the same time maintain his Interest both with the Kings of the *Romans* of and *France*. *Ferdinando* also applied to the *Venetians*, who, he had Reason to think, were not fond of having their Power eclipsed by the Arrival in *Italy* of so potent a King: And the *Spanish* Sovereigns promised him large Succours, in case their Remonstrances and Authority did not meet with Success in preventing the intended Invasion.

A. D.

1493.

*Peron de
la Basche*
sent to the
Italian
Potentates

Charles
demands
of the *Flo-*
rentines a
Passage
for his
Troops.

THE King of *France*, on the other hand, that he might remove all Difficulties and Obstacles on this Side the Mountains, as he had on the other, sent *Peron de la Basche*, a Person well versed in the Concerns of *Italy* (where he had formerly been with *Giovanni d'Anjou*) to notify to the Pope, *Venetians* and *Florentines*, his Resolution of passing the *Alps*, in order to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*, inviting them to join him. But he received only general Answers; every one refusing, as yet, to declare his Sentiments, as the War was not to be commenced till the Year following. *Charles* required of the *Florentine* Ambassadors, who, by *Ferdinando's* Approbation, had been sent to his Court, to clear their Republic from the Imputation of being partial to the *Aragonians*, that he should be promised a safe Passage and Provisions for his Army through their Dominions, on their paying for all Necessaries; and that, as a public Token of their Friendship, they should accompany his Troops with an Hundred of their Men at Arms. They remonstrated how dangerous
such

such an Agreement might prove, before ^{A. D.} they could be supported by his Army; ^{1493.} affirming, he might always be sure of their City, from the natural Propension of the *Florentines* to his Nation: But the *French* so ardently insisted on their Compliance, that they were constrained to promise, being threatened otherwise with a Suppression of their Commerce, which at that Time was very considerable in *France*. It was soon discovered that *Lodovico* was at the Bottom of these Counsels; and was also the sole Guide and Director of all that concerned the *French* Interest in *Italy*.

PIERO DE MEDICI endeavoured to get *Ferdinando's* Consent that his Republic might comply with these Demands; which, he said, in the Main, were insignificant; and that he might find it more to his Interest, that the Republic should be on good Terms with *Charles*, which might, perhaps, enable them to be his Mediators to bring about some Composition, whereas they could be of no Service to him in being declared Enemies to *France*. Next, he endeavoured to make him sensible, how

A. D. 1493. odious he should be rendered to his Country, if the *Florentine* Merchants should be banished *France*. He added, that for the common Good, which was the chief Ground of all Alliances, it was often necessary for each Confederate patiently to bear with some Inconveniencies, to prevent much greater. But *Ferdinando* being sensible, how much his Reputation would be diminished, and his Safety endangered, in case the *Florentines* were to separate themselves from his Interest, would, by no means admit of these Reasons; and bitterly complained, that *Piero's* Steadiness and Faith, on which he had reposed his chief Dependance, should so soon, contrary to all his Expectations, be shaken. Wherefore *Piero* being determined, above all Things, to preserve the Friendship of the *Aragonians*, contrived several Excuses to protract the Answer, so instantly required by the *French* King; and at last let him know, he would send new Ambassadors with the final Determination of the Republic.

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AT the latter end of the Year, the good A. D.
Intelligence between the Pope and *Ferdi-* 1493.
nando began to decline; either because The Cardinal of St.
Alexander, by raising Difficulties, expected Piero in
to reap greater Advantages; or, in order Vincola
to bring under his Obedience the Cardinal retires to
of *San Piero* in *Vincola*. This Cardinal
was retired into the Kingdom of *Naples*,
and the Pope insisted on his Return, of-
fering, for a Pledge of his Security, the
Faith of the sacred College, of *Ferdinando*,
and of the *Venetians*. His Absence cre-
ated *Alexander* a great deal of Uneasiness,
on Account of the important Castles
of *Ostia*, *Ronciglione*, and *Grotta Fer-*
rata, which he held in the Neighbour-
hood of *Rome*, and besides, he was a Man
of great Authority, and had many Ad-
herents in the *Roman* Court; was by Na-
ture desirous of Novelties, obstinate, and
difficult, tho' at the Risque of any Danger,
to be dissuaded from any Resolution once
taken. *Ferdinando* took great Pains to ex-
cuse himself, by assuring the Pope, that he
could not induce the Cardinal to comply;
not being able to persuade him, that any
Security was equal to the Danger he ap-
prehended,

A. D. 1494. prehended. He then complained of his hard Fate, in being obliged to sustain the Blame of other People's Faults: Thus he had been accused of advancing Money to *Virginio* for the Purchase of the Castles, tho' they were bought without his Participation, and it had been through his Interest that *Virginio* had come to a Composition, and he himself had advanced the Money which was paid to his Holiness on that Account. But these Excuses were so far from being admitted by the Pontiff, that he bitterly complained, and almost threatened him with his Resentment: This induced People to believe, that little Stress was to be laid on their late Reconciliation.

IN this Disposition of Minds, and Confusion of Affairs, tending to new Commotions, began the Year 1494, (according to the *Roman Style* :) * A Year most unfortunate for *Italy*! and, indeed, the first of many miserable Years: For it opened a Door to innumerable and horrible Calamities;

* In *Florence*, the Author's Country, the Year began on *Lady-Day*.

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ties; which, by divers Accidents, have *A. D.*
spread, and been sensibly felt, in many 1493.
Parts of the World.

IN the Beginning of this Year, *Charles*,
more than ever averse to any Composition *Charles*
with *Ferdinando*, ordered the *Neapolitan* *orders the*
Ambassadors, as the Ministers of an Ene- *Neapoli-*
my, immediately to quit the Kingdom of *tan Am-*
France. Much about the same Time, *bassadors*
Ferdinando, oppressed more with Anxiety *to quit*
of Mind than Age, was seized with a Ca- *France.*
tarrh, which suddenly carried him off. He
was a Prince celebrated for his Industry
and Prudence; which being accompa-
nied with good Fortune, he preserved him-
self in a Kingdom, not long since acquired
by his Father, in spite of many Difficulties
which he met with in the Beginning of
his Reign, and advanced it to a higher
Pitch of Greatness, than it was known for
many Years before, under any of the
Kings his Predecessors. A good King, if
he had continued to govern by the same
Maxims with which he began: But, in
Process of Time, when he found himself
firmly established, either changing his
Manners,

A. D. Manners, as is usual with almost all Princes who know not how to resist the Impulses of unlimited Authority, rather, according to the universal Opinion, discovering his natural Temper, till then very artfully concealed, he became noted for Breaches of Faith, and such excessive Cruelty, as his own Creatures thought deserving the Name of Barbarity. *

A Loss to
the Cause
of Italy.

IT was allowed that the Death of *Ferdinando* was a Loss to the common Cause of *Italy*. For, besides that he would have attempted any Expedient to prevent the Passage of the *French*, it was not doubted but that it would be more difficult to induce *Lodovico Sforza* to place any Confidence in the haughty Temper of *Alfonso*, than to have disposed him to renew his Friendship with *Ferdinando*, who had been often known, in former Times, readily to condescend to his Will, in order to avoid all Occasions of Contention with the State of *Milan*. And among the rest we are assured

* *Ferdinando*, the 25th of Jan. 1494, was 70 Years old, and had reigned 35 Years, 6 Months, and 25 Days, *Giovio*.

fured that when *Isabella* the Daughter of *A. D.*
Alfonso was conducted to her Husband, *Lodovico* fell in Love with her, and was de-^{1494.}
sirous to obtain her of her Father for him-
self, and, for that Purpose, operated so ef-
fectually, as it was then believed through-
out all *Italy*, by Means of Inchantment
and Sorcery, as to render *Galeazzo*, for
many Months, incapable of consummating
Matrimony. *Ferdinando* would have con-
sented to his Desire, but *Alfonso* opposed
it ; whence *Lodovico*, excluded from that
Hope, married another, by whom he had
Sons, and turned his Thoughts on transfer-
ring the Dutchy of *Milan* on himself and
his Heirs. Some have also wrote, that
Ferdinando, who was willing to undergo
any Fatigue, and suffer any Indignity to
avert the impending War, was determined,
as soon as the Season permitted, to go on
board his Gallies to *Genoa*, and from thence
by Land to *Milan*, and there comply with
every Thing *Lodovico* should require, and
bring back his Grand-Daughter to *Naples*,
in hopes of mitigating him, not only by
his Offers, but also by his publickly ac-
knowledging him for the sole Author of
his

A. D. his Safety, it being well known how ar-
 1492. dently *Lodovico* desired to be thought the
 Arbiter and Oracle of *Italy*.

Alfonso
 sends Am-
 bassadors
 to the
 Pope.

ALFONSO, at his first Coming to the Crown, sent four Ambassadors to the Pope, who had given Intimations of returning to his former Inclination of embracing the Friendship of the *French*; for at that King's Request, by a Bull signed by the whole College of Cardinals, he had engaged to create the Bishop of *St. Maló* a Cardinal *; and, in Concert with *Lodovico*, taken *Prospero Colonna*, and other Commanders of Men at Arms, into his Pay. Yet the Offers made by the new King, who, at any Rate, thought it necessary to gain him, and his Protection, were such, that *Alexander* could not withstand them.

An Alli-
 ance be-
 tween the
 Pope and
Alfonso.

AN Alliance was then publicly concluded between *Alfonso* and the Pope, for the Defence of their respective Dominions; engaging to assist each other with a certain

* *Corio* is of Opinion, that the Pope created the Bishop of *St. Malo* a Cardinal, in hopes of preventing, thro' his Interest, the King's Expedition into *Italy*.

tain Number of Men. *Alexander* promised to give *Alfonso* the Investiture of his Kingdom, with the same Diminution of the Tribute, which, by other Popes, had been granted only for *Ferdinando's* Life; to send an Apostolic Legate to crown him; and create *Lodovico*, the Son of Don *Henrico*, natural Brother of *Alfonso*, a Cardinal; who was afterwards called the Cardinal of *Aragon*. The King, on his Part, *Alfonso* was to pay the Pope immediately Thirty ^{engage to} Thousand Ducats, and provide, in the ^{provide} following Manner, for his three Sons: To ^{for the} give Possessions in his Kingdom, to the Value of Twelve Thousand Ducats a Year, to the Duke of *Candia*, the first of the seven principal Offices that became vacant, and, during his Holiness's Life, a Regiment of Three Hundred Men at Arms, to be employed in the Service of either Party, as Occasion should require: Don *Giuffre*, as a Pledge of the Pope's Sincerity, should reside at the King's Court; and, besides the Appointments agreed on at the former Convention, should be made Protonotary, which is one of the seven great Employments: And as for *Cæsar Borgia*, whom he had

A. D.

1494.

A. D.

1493.

had lately created a Cardinal, he was to be endowed with rich Benefices in his Kingdom. *Alexander*, in order to qualify *Cæsar* for the Purple, had, by false Witnesses, proved him to be a legitimate Child of another Gentleman ; it not being customary to promote Bastards to that Dignity.

VIRGINIO ORSINI, who was present at this Convention, and had the King's Credentials engaged; that *Alfonso* should assist his Holiness in recovering the Castle of *Ostia*, in case the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola* should refuse to return to *Rome*. But the King affirmed that this Promise had been made without his Consent or Knowledge, thinking it might prove highly detrimental in so dangerous a Juncture to have that Cardinal his Enemy ; for he had great Influence in *Genoa* on which, at the Instigation of that Prelate, he designed to make an Attempt. Besides, he was, perhaps, afraid of carrying Matters too far, lest the Cardinal should in such turbulent Times enter into Plots about Councils, or other Affairs prejudicial to the Holy See : So he tried all Means to reconcile

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reconcile him to the Pope; who would ^{A. D. 1494.} hearken to nothing, unless he returned to *Rome*. The Cardinal, on the other side, ^{The Cardinal of St. Piero in Vincola retires into France.} was as obstinately determined not to trust his Life, as he used to express himself, in the Hands of *Catalans*; and therefore rendered all the Pains and Desires of *Alfonso* ineffectual: For, after feigning to come into all that was proposed, he departed suddenly one Night on board an armed Brigantine from *Ostia*, which Place he left well garrisoned, and after staying a few Days at *Savona*, and then at *Avignon*, where he was Legate, he proceeded to *Lyons*, whither *Charles* had transferred his Residence, in order to make with more Conveniency and the greater Vigour the necessary Preparations for the intended Expedition, which he gave out he would conduct in Person, by whom he was received with great Demonstrations of Joy and Honour, and here he joined all those who were concerting Measures for disturbing the Repose of *Italy*.

ALFONSO, Fear becoming a good Master to him, continued to make *Lodovico*
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D. vico the same Offers his Father had done.
 1494 } *Sforza*, according to his Custom, craftily
 amused him with vain Hopes; and endeavoured to persuade him, that he was under a Necessity of acting with the utmost Dexterity and Caution in regard to *France*, lest the War, designed against others, might begin in his own Dominions. But, on the other hand, he never ceased to solicit the Preparations in *France*; and, to do it the more effectually, he sent, at the same time, to the *French* Court (but, as he pretended, at *Charles's* Request) *Ga-leazzo da San Severino*, a Person he confided in, and a great Favourite of his, having married his Daughter, to settle better all the Particulars, and see that what was resolved on might be put in Execution without Delay. By *Lodo-vico's* Advice, the King dispatched four Ambassadors to the Pope; *Everard Aubigni*, a Scotch Officer; the General of *France*; the President of the Parliament of *Provence*; and *Peron de la Basche*, the same Person who had been sent thither the Year before. These Ministers pursuant to their Instructions, the principal of which

Four Ambassadors
 sent by
Charles
 into Italy.

which were drawn up in *Milan*, published A. D.
1494. in all Places wherever they passed the Right which the King of *France*, as Successor of the House of *Anjou*, on the Failure of the Line of *Charles* the First, claimed to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and his Resolution to pass the same Year in Person into *Italy*, not with an Intent to seize on what appertained to others, but purely to obtain what justly belonged to himself, though the ultimate End which he had in View was not so much the Acquisition of the Kingdom of *Naples*, as the Opportunity that Conquest would afford him of turning his Arms against the *Turks* for the Increase and Advancement of the Christian Name*. At *Florence* they represented the great Confidence which the King reposed in that City, which had been rebuilt by *Charles* the Great, and was always favoured by the Kings of *France*;

I 2

and

* To this Day the *Italians* in general exult whenever a Christian Potentate declares War against the *Turks*: And it is customary for the Emperor and the *Venetians* to send Ambassadors, on such Occasions, to collect Money from all the *Italian* Powers. I myself, on the Taking of *Belgrade* by *Charles* VI. have seen as great Rejoicings at *Florence*, as if it had been an Acquisition made by the Great Duke of *Tuscany*.

A. D.
1494.
Their Pro-
ceedings
at Florence
 and lately by the present King's Father, *Lewis XI.* in the unjust Wars raised against the *Florentines* by Pope *Sixtus, Ferdinando,* lately deceased, and his reigning Son *Alfonso*: They put the People in Mind of the vast Profits which the *Florentine* Nation made by their mercantile Commerce in the Kingdom of *France*, where they were favoured and carested as if they had been Natives, by which Example they might expect to reap the same Profits, and meet with the like kind Treatment in the Kingdom of *Naples* when the King should be in Possession of it: A Treatment they had never met with from the *Aragonians*, from whom they had ever suffered Injuries and Losses. They then pressed them to give some Demonstration of their Conjunction with his Majesty in his Enterprize; but if, for any just Reason, they did not think proper to declare themselves, that they would at least agree to give a free Passage through their Territories to the *French* Army, and furnish them with Victuals on their paying for them.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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IN this Manner did they treat with the Republic, but made use of other Arguments with *Piero de' Medici*. They reminded him of the many Favours and Honours conferred by *Lewis XI.* on his Father and on his Ancestors: How, in troublesome Times, he had often countenanced them in order to preserve their Grandeur, and in Token of Benevolence, he had permitted them to quarter the Arms of the House of *France*. That, on the contrary, *Ferdinando*, not satisfied with openly attacking them with his Arms, had been also wickedly concerned himself in civil Conspiracies, in which his Uncle *Giuliano* had been assassinated, and his Father *Lorenzo* dangerously wounded.

THE Ambassadors not obtaining a positive Answer at *Florence*, proceeded to *Rome*, where laying before his Holiness the antient Merits, and constant Devotion of the House of *France* towards the Apostolic See, which were abundantly attested by antient and modern Records, and, on the contrary, the Contumacy and frequent Acts of Disobedience of the *Aragonians*,

The Pope
requested
to favour
the French

A. D. they demanded the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* for *Charles*, as his lawful Right, proposing and making many Offers, if he would favour an Expedition, undertaken as much by his Holiness's Authority and Persuasion, as by any other Motive.

Alexander's Answer.

THE Pope's Answer was, That as the Investiture had been given, by so many of his Predecessors, three Times successively to the House of *Aragon*, (*Alfonso* being expressly named in that of *Ferdinando's*) it was not reasonable to grant it to *Charles*, until it was judicially determined that he had the best Claim, to which the Investiture granted to *Alfonso*, could be of no manner of Prejudice, because this Clause, *without Prejudice to any one's Right*, was purposely inserted in the Deed : That the Kingdom of *Naples* was a direct Dominion of the Holy See ; and he hoped the present King would imitate his Ancestors, who were ever the chief Defenders of the Church's Rights, and not assault it with open Violence, as he threatened, but proceed in a legal and judicial Manner, as became

came the Dignity of his Person: And as A. D. 1494.
 he himself was the Supreme Lord of the Fief, and sole Judge of the Cause, he might depend on making out his Claim to have Justice done him: That this was all a Most Christian King ought to require from a *Roman* Pontiff, whose Province it was to appease and extinguish Animosities, not to foment Wars between Christian Princes. He then expatiated on the Difficulties and Dangers that would attend his joining his Majesty, by reason of the Vicinity of his Territories to those of *Alfonso* and the *Florentines*, as the last would be seconded by all *Tuscany*, and the Dependance on the King of *Naples* of so many Barons was very great, some of whose States extended to the very Gates of *Rome*. But he artfully dropped Expressions, which might create some Hope, tho' he was in himself fully determined not to quit his Alliance with *Alfonso*.

AT *Florence* the Inclination was strong The Flo-
 in Favour of the House of *France*, on ac- rentines
 count of the Commerce of so great a Num- desirous of
 ber of *Florentines* in that Kingdom, and content-
ing *France*

A. D. 1494. from an inveterate, tho' false, Notion that their City had been rebuilt by *Charlemain*, after it had been destroyed by *Totila*, King of the *Goths*; for the strict Conjunction of their *Guelf* Ancestors, for a long Time together, with *Charles* the First, King of *Naples*, and with many of his Descendants Protectors of the *Guelfs* in *Italy*; and for the Memory of the Wars, which first old *Alfonso*, and afterwards *Ferdinando*, in the Year 1478, made with their Republic, when he sent his Son *Alfonso* with an Army against them. On these Considerations, the Commonalty of the People were for granting a Passage to the King, and many also of the most knowing among the Citizens, and those of the greatest Authority, were of the same Mind. They thought it very imprudent to involve the State in a dangerous War, for their Neighbours Quarrels, by opposing so powerful an Army, headed by the King of *France* in Person, who entered *Italy* with the Assistance of the State of *Milan*, and if not with the Consent, at least without the Contradiction of the *Venetian* Senate. To confirm their Opinion, they had the Authority of *Cosmo de'*

de' Medici, deemed one of the wisest Men of his Age in *Italy*; who, in the War between *Giovanni d' Anjou* and *Ferdinando*, though the latter was supported by the Pope, and the Duke of *Milan*, had always counselled their Republic not to oppose *Giovanni*. They also revived the Memory of *Lorenzo* Father of *Piero*, who at every Report of the Return of the *Anjouins* was always of the same Opinion as *Cosmo*; and, terrified at the Power of the *French*, after this very King was become Master of *Bretany*, used to say that he foresaw great Calamities coming upon *Italy*, if ever the King of *France* should become sensible of his Strength. But *Piero de' Medici*, taking his Measures more from Inclination than Prudence, and presuming too much on his own Opinion, thought this mighty Storm would blow over, and spend itself in Noise and Bluster, rather than in working any real Effect. He therefore listened to the Persuasions of some of his Ministers, who were suspected to have been corrupted by *Alfonso*, and being determined to persist in his Friendship with the *Aragonians*, his

Power

A. D.

1494.

A. D. Power was so great in *Florence*, that all
1494 were obliged to submit to his Will.

I HAVE it from good Authority, that *Piero*, not content with inheriting the Power his Father had exercised in the Republic, tho' such, that he had the Nomination of all the Magistrates, and nothing of Moment could be transacted without his Approbation, yet aspired to a more absolute Sovereignty, and intended to take upon him the Title of Prince; without wisely estimating the Circumstances of the City, which at that Time being powerful, and abounding in Riches, and which had now, for several Ages, been amused with a Shew of a Republic, in which the better Sort of Citizens, being accustomed to participate in the Government, were rather like Colleagues than Subjects, it was not likely that they would submit to so great and sudden a Change without much Violence. *Piero* therefore being sensible that it was necessary to lay some extraordinary Foundation for the Support of his ambitious Desires, in order to secure himself of a powerful Defence for the Preservation of his new Prin-

Principality, entered into boundless Engagements with the *Aragonians*, and resolved to run the same Fortune with them. A. D. 1494.

And it happened that a few Days before the Arrival of the *French* Ambassador at *Florence*, it was discovered that *Lorenzo* and *Giovanni de' Medici*, young Men of great Wealth, and very nearly related to *Piero* by Blood, having fallen out with him on Occasion of some youthful Trick which he had played them, had by means of *Cosmo Rucellai*, Cousin German of *Piero*, entered into some Negotiations with *Lodovico Sforza*, and through his Introduction with the King of *France*, which were directly levelled against the Greatness of *Piero*. For this Offence they were taken into Custody by the Magistrates, but came off with a very slight Punishment, being only confined to their Country Houses, the Moderation of the Citizens, tho' not without great Difficulty, prevailing on *Piero* to consent that the Rigour of the Laws should not be exercised upon his own Blood. As he was, however, convinced by this Accident, that *Lodovico Sforza* was intent on procuring his Ruin, he judged it the more necessary

A. D. necessary for him to persevere in his first
 1494. Resolution.

AN Answer was then given to the Ambassadors in kind and respectful Terms, but not conclusive according to their Expectations; representing, on one hand, the natural Affection of the *Florentines* to the House of *France*, and their immense Desire of satisfying so glorious a King; on the other shewing the Impediments that lay in the Way, since nothing could be more unworthy of Princes or Republics, than not faithfully to observe their Engagements, the express Violation of which they could not avoid, if they consented to his Demands, considering that there still subsisted the Confederacy, which, by the Authority of King *Lewis* his Father, they had contracted with *Ferdinando*, with a Promise, that after his Death it should take Place in *Alfonso*, and with an express Condition that they should be obliged not only to the Defence of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but to refuse a Passage through their Territories to any Power that should offer to invade it: That they were extremely sor-

ry that it was impossible for them to take any other Resolution, but hoped that the King, out of his consummate Wisdom and Justice, knowing their very good Disposition, would ascribe their not promising to answer his Expectations to Impediments of so just a Nature. The King was highly provoked at this Answer, and ordered the Ambassadors immediately to depart out of *France*, and expelled from *Lions*, at the Instigation of *Lodovico Sforza*, the Managers of the Bank of *Piero de' Medici*, but not the rest of the *Florentine* Merchants, that this Distinction might be interpreted at *Florence*, as an Acknowledgement that his Majesty resented this Injury as a particular Act of *Piero*, in which the Generality of the Citizens were unconcerned *.

A. D.
1494.

Florentine
Ambassadors
ordered to quit
France.

WHILE all the other *Italian* Potentates were thus divided, some in Favour of the King of *France*, others in Opposition to him, the *Venetians* alone were determined to stand neuter, and wait, at leisure, the Issue of these Commotions, either because they

* The Family of the *Medici* got immense Wealth by Trade, and were, by far, the greatest Bankers in those Days.

A. D. 1494. they were not displeased to see *Italy* embroiled, in Hopes that a long War exhausting the other Powers might give them an Opportunity of enlarging their own Dominions, or because their Greatness securing them from all Apprehensions of falling an easy Prey to the Conqueror, they judged it an imprudent Step to make the Quarrels of other People their own without apparent Necessity. *Ferdinando*, however, was continually solliciting them, and the King of *France*, both the Year before and at this present Juncture, had sent to *Venice* Ambassadors, who had represented to the Senate the Friendship and Benevolence that had always subsisted between the House of *France* and their Republic, and had been corroborated by mutual affectionate Returns and kind Offices on all Occasions: That the King being desirous to improve this Disposition intreated that most wise Assembly to vouchsafe to assist him in his Undertaking with their Counsel and Favour. To this Representation they had prudently and briefly answered, that the Most Christian King was a Prince of such great Wisdom, and had about him such

*French
Ambassadors at
Venice.*

such Numbers of grave and moderate *A. D.*
 Counsellors, that it would be too pre-
 sumptuous for any one to undertake to ^{1494.}
 advise him; adding that the *Venetian* Se-
 nate should rejoice at every prosperous
 Event that might attend him out of a Re-
 spect which they had always entertained
 for the Crown of *France*, and were there-
 fore extremely sorry that they were in no
 Condition to make their Deeds correspond
 with the Readiness of their Inclinations.
 For the Apprehensions under which they
 were continually held by the Grand *Turk*,
 who wanted neither Will nor very fair Op-
 portunities to attack them, laid them under
 a Necessity of keeping Garrisons in many
 Islands and maritime Towns on his Fron-
 tiers at a prodigious Expence, for which
 Reason they could not in Prudence think
 of involving themselves in other Wars.

BUT the Speeches of these Ambassa-
 dors, and the Answers made them were of
 little Significancy with respect to the Pre-
 parations both by Sea and Land which
 were carried on in every Quarter. For
Charles had sent *Pierre d'Urfé*, his Grand
 Ecuyer,

A. D. 1494. Ecuyer, to *Genoa*, of which City the Duke of *Milan* had made himself Master by Means of the Faction of the *Adorni* and of *Giovan Luigi dal Fiesco*, in order to fit out a powerful Fleet of Ships and Galleys, besides other Vessels which he caused to be equipped in the Ports of *Villafranca* and *Marseilles*, whence it was publicly talked in his Court that it was designed to attack *Naples* by Sea, as *Giovanni* Son of *René* had formerly done in his War against *Ferdinando*. Many, however, in *France* still believed that these mighty Preparations would prove of no Service, grounding their Opinion on the King's weak Capacity, the mean Abilities of his Counsellors, and the Want of Money; but the Ardor of the King could not be controuled. At the Persuasions of some who were most intimate with him, he had assumed the Title of King of *Jerusalem* and of the *Two Sicilies*, claimed at that Time by the *Neapolitan* Kings, and was ardently intent on making Provisions of War, collecting Money, reviewing his Men at Arms, and concerting Measures with *Galeazzo di San Severino*, who was privy to all the secret Counsels

ALFONSO, on the other hand, who had not neglected making Preparations both by Sea and Land, resolving no longer to suffer himself to be cajoled by *Lodovico's* fair Promises, thought it more expedient to terrify and distress him, than to fatigue himself in vain Endeavours to mollify and secure him on his Side. He therefore ordered the *Milanese* Ambassador to quit *Naples*, recalled his own from *Milan*, and put under Sequestration the Revenues of the Dutchy of *Bari*, which had been for many Years enjoyed by *Lodovico* by Donation of *Ferdinando*; and not content with these rather Indications of open Enmity than real Hostilities, he determined to be the first Aggressor, and applied all his Thoughts to deprive the Duke of *Milan* of the City of *Genoa*, an Enterprize, in the present Juncture, of the greatest Importance. For a Revolution in that City could not fail of creating great Uneasiness to *Lodovico* in his Government of *Milan*, and the King of *France* would be de-

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A. D. 1494. prived of an Opportunity of molesting Naples by Sea. With this View he secretly treated with Cardinal *Pagolo Fregoso*, who had been formerly Doge of *Genoa*, and had many Partisans of the same Family, and with *Obietto dal Fiesco*, both Heads of strong Parties in that City and in its *Rivieras*, and also with some of the Maleconteuts of the *Adorni*, who were all Fugitives on some Account or other. *Alfonso* therefore resolved to make an Attempt for their Restoration, being often heard to say, that Preventions and Diversions were the best Means to overcome an Enemy. He designed also to march in Person at the Head of a potent Army into *Romagna*, in order to pass from thence with all Expedition into the Territory of *Parma*, where, by declaring for the Cause and setting up the Standard of *Giovan Galeazzo*, he was in Hopes that the People of the Dutchy of *Milan* would make an Insurrection against *Lodovico*. And though it might be difficult for him to succeed, he judged it highly for his Advantage that the War should commence at a great Distance from his own Kingdom, and a
Matter

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Matter of no small Importance towards a ^{A. D.} Decision of the War, that the *French* should ^{1494.} be overtaken by the Winter in *Lombardy*, by which, he imagined, that, according to what is practised only in Wars in *Italy*, where the Armies are not used to take the Field till the latter End of *April*, they would be obliged, in order to avoid the Rigour of the Season, to take up their Quarters in the Country of their Friend till Spring, in which Interval of Time he was in Hopes that some Opportunity might offer for his Preservation.

HE also sent Ambassadors to *Constanti-* ^{Alonso} *nople*, to demand Assistance, as in a Case of ^{applies to} common Danger, of *Bajazet*, the *Ottoman* ^{Bajazet} Prince of the *Turks*, on account of what ^{for Assistance.} was publickly reported that it was the Intention of *Charles*, after he had conquered *Naples*, immediately to pass into *Greece*. This was a Danger which he knew *Bajazet* could by no means despise, for the Fame of the Expeditions of the *French* Nation into *Asia* against the Infidels in Times past had infused into the *Turks* no small Terror of their Arms.

A. D.

1494.

Ostia taken
by the
Pope.

WHILE these Things were in Agitation on all Sides, the Pope sent his Troops to *Ostia* under the Command of *Nicolo Orsini*, Count of *Pitigliano*, who, assisted by *Alfonso* both by Sea and Land, made himself Master of the Town without Difficulty, and having begun to batter the Castle, the Governor, by the Interposition of *Fabritio Colonna*, and with the Consent of *Giovanni della Rovere*, Prefect of *Rome*, and Brother of the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, gave up the Place after a few Days Resistance. By the Capitulation the Pope was obliged not to prosecute, either with Censures or Arms, the Cardinal nor Prefect, without fresh Provocation; and *Grotta Ferrata*, which the Cardinal had left in the Hands of *Fabritio*, was to continue in his Possession with the same Rights, on his paying 10,000 Ducats to the Pope.

But *Lodovico Sforza*, whom the Cardinal, when he passed from *Savona*, had made acquainted with the secret Negotiations which *Alfonso*, by his Counsels and Medi-

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III

ation, was transacting with the Exiles of *Genoa*, having represented to *Charles* the great Obstacles that might result from thence to his Designs, induced him to give Orders for the March of 2000 *Swiss* to *Genoa*, and for the immediate Passage of 300 Lances into *Italy*. *Aubigni* who was returning from *Rome*, but had Orders from the King to stop at *Milan*, was to take the Command of these Lances, and hold himself in Readiness either for the Security of *Lombardy*, or to proceed forwards as Necessity or Occasion required, in Conjunction with 500 Men at Arms, listed at the same time into the King's Pay, under *Giovan Francesco da San Severino*, Count of *Gajazzo*, *Galeotto Pico*, Count of *Mirandola*, and *Ridolfo da Gonzaga*, besides 500 others whom the Duke of *Milan* was obliged to furnish. *Lodovico*, not forgetting his usual Arts, ceased not to assure the Pontiff, and *Piero de' Medici*, of his Disposition to procure the Peace and Security of *Italy*, feeding sometimes one, sometimes the other with Hopes that he would soon make it appear by evident Demonstration.

A. D.
1494.

A. D.

1494.

It is hardly possible that a very strong Affeuration should not leave some Doubt in the Minds of those who are determined to believe the contrary: And therefore tho' no longer Credit was given to *Lodovico's* Promises, the Execution of those Enterprizes that had been concerted was, however, by this means, in some measure retarded. For both the Pope and *Piero de' Medici* would have been extremely pleased with making an Attempt on *Genoa*, but because such a Step would amount to a direct Attack upon the State of *Milan*, the Pope being requested by *Alfonso* to lend him his Gallies, and to join his Forces with his in *Romagna*, agreed to unite their Troops for their common Defence in *Romagna*, but not to proceed any farther; but as to the Gallies he made some Difficulty, alledging that it was not yet a proper Time to drive *Lodovico* to so great a Degree of Despair. The *Florentines* were also requested to afford a Receptacle and Refreshments to the *Neapolitan* Fleet in the Port of *Livorno*, but hesitated for the same Reason, and because, as they had excused themselves from

com-

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complying with the Demands of the King of *France*, under Pretence of their Confederacy with *Ferdinando*, they were by no means disposed to take any further Steps, than those to which they were bound by their League, till they were forced by Necessity.

THE State of Affairs now admitting of no further Delay, the Fleet, at last, under Admiral Don *Federigo*, set Sail from Naples, and *Alfonso* in Person, assembled his Army in the *Abruzzi*, with a Design to pass into *Romagna*. But before he proceeded he thought it necessary to have a Conference with the Pope, who was equally desirous of it, in order to settle what Measures were to be taken for their common Safety. On the thirteenth of *July* they met one another at *Vicovaro*, a Town belonging to *Virginio Orsino*, where they held a Conference which lasted three Days, and afterwards parted with mutual Satisfaction. In this Meeting it was resolved, by Advice of the Pope, that the King should proceed no farther in Person ; but that his Army, which, as he affirmed,

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consist-

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1494.

consisted of little less than a Hundred Squadrons of Men at Arms, reckoning twenty Men to a Squadron, and above 3000 Archers with Cross-bows, and light Horse, should, Part of them, commanded by himself, post themselves on the Frontiers of the *Abruzzi*, for the Security of the ecclesiastic State, and of his own Dominions ; that *Virginio* should remain in the Territory of *Rome*, to observe the *Colonna's*, who had given Umbrage, and made it thought proper to dispose of 200 of the Pope's Men at Arms, and Part of the King's light Horse in *Rome* ; and that *Ferdinando* Duke of *Calabria* (which is the Title of the eldest Son of the Kings of *Naples*) a young Prince of vast Hopes, should take his March into *Romagna* with Seventy Squadrons, the Remainder of the light Horse, and the greater Part of the ecclesiastical Troops, which last was granted only for acting on the defensive. The young Duke was to be attended into the Field, as Moderators of his Youth, by *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, General of the King's Army, and Count *Pitigliano*, both famous and expert Commanders, the last

of whom left the Pope's to enter into the King's Service. It was imagined that the Duke's Presence, if the Army advanced into *Lombardy*, would be of great Service to the Cause, since he was allied by a near and double Relation to *Giovanni Galeazzo*, who was the Husband of *Isabella* his Sister, and Son of *Galeazzo*, Brother of *Ippolita*, who was his Mother.

BUT one of the most important Concerns that came under Consideration between the Pope and *Alfonso* was the Affair of the *Colonna's*, who gave manifest Suspicions that they were forming some new Plot. For *Prospero* and *Fabritio* having served the late King, and obtained of him States and honourable Privileges, *Prospero*, who, since his Decease, after many Promises to *Alfonso* to keep his Post in the Army, had, by means of Cardinal *Ascanio*, engaged himself in common to the Pope and the Duke of *Milan*, would not afterwards consent, tho' solicited, to throw up *Lodovico's* Commission, and remain solely in the Pope's Pay : And *Fabritio*, who had continued in *Alfonso's* Service, seeing the
Pope

A. D. 1494. Pope and the King incensed against *Prospero*, made a Difficulty of attending the Duke of *Calabria* into *Romagna*, if the Concerns of *Prospero* and of the whole Family of the *Colonna's* were not by some proper Method first settled and secured. This Pretence served as a Colour for their Scruples, but in secret they were both influenced by their extraordinary Friendship with Cardinal *Ascanio*, who had a few Days since left *Rome* to avoid the Pope's Jealousy, and retired into their Territories, and by the Hopes of greater Emoluments, but much more by their Resentment against *Alfonso* for bestowing the first Place in his Court, and the most ample Share of his Prosperity on *Virginio Orsino*, the Head of the contrary Faction, which altogether induced them to enter into the *French* Service. And to conceal their Intention, till they thought they might declare their new Engagements with Safety, they pretended to desire an Agreement with the Pontiff and *Alfonso*; who insisting that *Prospero* should take the whole Command under them, since otherwise they could not be secure of his having left the Service of the Duke of *Milan*, treated
conti-

continually with them. But the *Colonna's*,
 in order to prevent coming to a Conclusion,
 started from time to time fresh Objections
 against the Conditions that were proposed.

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1494.

WHILE this Treaty was in Hand
Alexander and *Alfonso* had different Views:
 The Pope wanted to seize on the Castles
 which the *Colonna's* possessed in the *Roman*
 Territory, and was glad of an Opportuni-
 ty to attack them; but the King, having no
 other View than his own Preservation, was
 loth to have recourse to Arms but as the last
 Remedy. But he durst not presume to
 oppose the Pontiff's ambitious Desire, and
 therefore they resolved to force Submission
 by Hostilities, and the Number of Troops
 and Order of Attack were settled between
 them; but a Tryal was to be first made
 whether some Way might not be found
 within a few Days for an Accommodation,

THESE and many other Negotiations
 were transacted on all Sides, till at last the
 Sailing of Don *Federigo* on the Expedition
 to *Genoa* gave a Beginning to the *Italian*
 War. This Admiral had certainly under
 his

A. D. his Command the greatest and best provided Fleet that for many Years had sailed on the *Tuscan* Sea ; for it consisted of Thirty-five light Gallies, Eighteen Ships of War, and a great Number of smaller Vessels, was furnished with a large Quantity of Artillery, and had on board Three Thousand Foot for making a Descent. Confiding in these mighty Provisions, and in the Exiles whom he carried with him, *Federigo* left *Naples* with vast Hopes of Success. But the Delay of his Departure, occasioned by Difficulties common to all great Movements, and in some measure by the artful Hopes given by *Lodovico*, and afterwards their stopping in the Ports of the *Senese* in order to enlist Five Thousand Men, had rendered difficult an Enterprize which a Month before would have proved very easy. For the Enemy having had Time to make powerful Provisions, the Bailiff of *Dijon* was already entered into *Genoa* with Two Thousand *Swiss* in the Pay of the King of *France*, and, besides a great Number of Ships and Gallies equipped in the Port, there were arrived Part of the armed Vessels designed from *Marseilles*.

Lodovico

Lodovico also, sparing no Cost, had dispatched thither *Gasparo da San Severino* ^{A. D. 1493.} surnamed *Francaffa*, and *Antonmaria* his Brother with a Body of Foot. And that he might make as much Use of the Hearts and Affections of the *Genoese*, as of the Assistance of foreign Troops, he secured to his Interest, with Gifts, Pensions, Promises, and various Rewards, the Good Will of *Giovan Luigi dal Fiesco* Brother of *Obietto*, the *Adorni*, and many others, both of the Nobility and popular Party, who were best qualified for keeping the City in Order; and, on the other hand, he summoned a great Number of Partisans of the Exiles from *Genoa* and all the Towns of the *Rivieras* to *Milan*. To these Preparations, great and powerful in themselves, the Presence of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* added new Life and Reputation. That Nobleman arrived about the same time that the *Aragonian* Squadron was discovered on the Sea of *Genoa*, and made his Entry into that Town with a Commission from the King of *France*, after he had held a Conference at *Alexandria*, on Matters relating to the common Cause, with *Lodovico*

Duke of
Orleans
arrives at
Genoa.

A. D. *Vico Sforza*, who very joyfully received, and treated him with great Honour, but as his Equal, little imagining (as the Affairs of Mortals are wrapt up in Obscurity) how soon his Dominions would be in his Power, and his Life lie at his Mercy.

THESE Apprehensions and Precautions occasioned the *Aragonese*, who had before designed to present themselves with their Fleet in the Port of *Genoa*, in Hopes that the Friends of the Exiles would raise some Commotions, to change their Resolution, and determine to attack the *Rivieras*. But after various Debates whether it were most adviseable to attack the *Eastern* or *Western Riviera*, it was at last agreed to follow the Opinion of *Obietto*, who promised himself great Assistance from the Inhabitants of the *Eastern Riviera*, and to sail directly to the Town of *Porto Venere*. But the Place being defended by Four Hundred Foot dispatched thither from *Genoa*, and the Inhabitants animated by the Presence of *Giovan Luigi dal Fiesco*, who was arrived from *Spetie*, they were repulsed in an Assault which lasted several Hours :

Hours: Losing therefore all Hopes of ^{A. D.} making themselves Masters of the Town ^{1494.} they failed off, and retired into the Port of *Livorno*, in order to take in Provisions, and augment the Number of their Foot; for being assured that the Towns of the *Riviera* were well provided, it was thought necessary to act with a greater Force. Here Don *Federigo* receiving Advice that the *French* Fleet, which was inferior to his in Gallies, but superior in Ships of War, was preparing to sail out of the Port of *Genoa*, sent back his Ships to *Naples*, that he might the more readily by the Swiftness of his Gallies disengage himself from the Enemy, if they should come and attack him with their Gallies and Ships in Conjunction; though he was not without Hopes of defeating them, if by Accident or Design their Ships should be separated from their Gallies.

IN the mean time the Duke of *Calabria* was marching with a Land Army towards *Romagna*, with an Intention to advance from thence into *Lombardy*, according to the first Resolutions. But to secure

A. D. 1494. a free Passage, and leave no Impediments behind him, it was necessary to assure himself of the Friendship of the State of *Bologna*, and of the Cities of *Imola* and *Forli*; for *Cesena*, a City immediately subject to the Pope, and the City of *Faenza* subject to *Astorre di Manfredi*, a Child, in the Pay and governed under the Protection of the *Florentines*, were very ready to furnish the *Aragonian* Army with all Conveniencies. *Forli* and *Imola* were under the Government of *Ottaviano*, Son of *Geronimo Riario*, with the Title of Vicar of the Church, but under the Tutelage and Direction of his Mother *Caterina Sforza*. The Pope and *Alfonso* had for several Months been treating with this Lady about taking *Ottaviano* into their common Pay, with an Obligation comprehending the Defence of his States. But the Treaty was never perfected, partly because of the Difficulties which she interposed in order to obtain better Conditions, and partly because the *Florentines*, persisting in their first Resolution not to proceed against the King of *France* beyond the Obligations under which they stood to *Alfonso*,

fonso were determined not to concur in the Expence, and their Consent was necessary because the Pope and the King refused to be at all the Charges; but much more because *Caterina* declared that she would not endanger those Cities, unless the *Florentines* as well as the others obliged themselves to defend the States of her Son. A Conference which *Ferdinando*, in marching with his Army to *Romagna* by the Way of *Marecchia*, had with *Piero de' Medici* at *Borgo a San Sepolcro* removed these Difficulties. For they had no sooner met than the Duke, by Commission from his Father *Alfonso*, made an Offer to *Piero* of himself and his Army to be employed, wholly at his Discretion, in all Affairs relating to *Florence*, *Siena* and *Faenza*. *Piero* flushed with those Offers became as hot and forward as ever, and returning to *Florence* was pleased, though dissuaded by the wisest of the Citizens, that the Republic should give its Consent to this Treaty, because *Ferdinando* with the utmost Earnestness insisted on it. *Ottaviano*, being taken into Pay at the joint Expence of the Pope, *Alfonso*, and the *Florentines*,

A. D.
1494.

A. D.

1494.

within a few Days after the City of *Bologna* acceded to their Alliance, by means of hiring in the same Manner *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, by whose Authority and absolute Will it was governed, and to whom the Pope promised, under the Guaranty of the King and *Piero de' Medici*, to create his Son *Anton Galeazzo*, then Apostolical Protonotary, a Cardinal. The Taking these Lords into Pay gave great Reputation to *Ferdinando's* Army, and would have given it much greater, if on this Success he had immediately entered *Romagna*. But such was the Slowness of the *Aragonians* in marching from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Diligence of *Lodovico Sforza*, that as soon as *Ferdinando* arrived at *Cesena*, *Aubigni* and Count *Gajazzo*, General of *Sforza's* Troops, with Part of the Army appointed to oppose the *Aragonians*, were passed through the *Bolognese* without Obstacle, and entered into the Territory of *Imola*. Hence *Ferdinando*, disappointed of his first Hopes of passing into *Lombardy*, was necessitated to fix the Seat of the War in *Romagna*, where, though the other Cities were in the

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the *Aragonian* Interest, yet *Ravenna*, and *A. D.*
Cervia, which were subject to the *Veneti-*
ans, observing a Neutrality, and the little
Country adjacent to the *Po*, being in the
Possession of the Duke of *Ferrara*, the
French and *Milanese* Troops wanted for no
Conveniency.

BUT *Piero de' Medici*, not in the least re-
claimed from his Rashness by the Miscar-
riage of the Enterprize on *Genoa*, nor the
Obstacles that presented themselves in
Romagna, entered into a private Conven-
tion with the Pope and *Alfonso*, unknown
to the Republic, in which he obliged him-
self to oppose the King of *France* with open
Arms, and not only consented that the
Neapolitan Fleet should be allowed a Re-
ception, and to take in Provisions, in the
Port of *Livorno*, with Liberty to list Sol-
diers in any Part of the *Florentine* Domini-
ons, but transgressing all Bounds of Modera-
tion caused *Annibale Bentivoglio*, Son of *Gio-*
vanni, in the Pay of the *Florentines*, to join
the Army of *Ferdinando*, with his Regi-
ment, and that of *Astorre Manfredi*, as soon
as he entered the Territory of *Forli*, be-

A. D. sides which he sent him 1000 Foot with
 1494. Artillery.

THE like Disposition seemed to continue in the Pope, who, besides his warlike Preparations, did not think it enough, first to exhort *Charles*, by a Brief, not to pass into *Italy*, but to proceed in a judicial Way, and not by Force of Arms, but afterwards, by another Brief, sent him positive Orders to forbear under Pain of the ecclesiastical Censures: And, by means of the Bishop of *Cagliari*, his Nuntio at *Venice*, used all his Endeavours, in Concert with the *Neapolitan* Ministers, who resided there for that Purpose, and those of the *Florentines*, who acted somewhat more cautiously, to engage that Senate, out of Regard to the public Safety of *Italy*, to oppose the *French* with Arms, or at least to make lively Representations to *Lodovico*, that they were highly dissatisfied with his new Measures. But the Doge, in the Name of the Senate, answered, that it was not the Part of a wise Prince to draw a War into his own Dominions, to save those of his Neighbours; and, accordingly, it was agreed to
 act

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act in a Manner, that neither Party might have just Reason from outward Appearances, or real Effects, to take Offence.

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THE King of *Spain*, being pressed by the Pope and *Alfonso*, promised to send his Fleet, with a great Number of Troops into *Sicily*, in order to succour, if it should be needful, the Kingdom of *Naples*. And because the King complained of the Want of Money, to hasten the Expedition, *Alfonso* sent him a certain Sum, and *Alexander* gave him Leave to employ, for this Purpose, the Money collected by the Authority of the Holy See, under the Name of the *Croissade*, in *Spain*, which was never known to have been made Use of, but against the Infidels, who, indeed, had little Cause to fear at present : For *Alfonso* had before dispatched several Messengers to *Constantinople*, and now sent *Camillo Pandone*, who, by the Pope's Orders, was privately accompanied by *Giorgio Bucciardo*, a *Genoese*, a Person who had formerly been sent thither by Pope *Innocent*. *Bajazet* received them with infinite Demonstrations of Respect and Honour, and soon dispatched them,

A. D. 1494. } promising a powerful Assistance, which he afterwards confirmed by an Ambassador sent on Purpose to *Naples*: But his Promises were never performed, either because the Distance was so great, or because it was not an easy Matter for *Turks* and *Christians* to repose any Confidence in one another.

ALFONSO and *Piero*, finding that neither by Land nor Sea they had hitherto met with any Success against *Lodovico*, resolved to try if they could deceive him by his own Craft and Arts: But their Stratagems miscarried as well as their Force. It was the Opinion of many, that *Lodovico*, in his Heart, with regard to his own Safety, could not be desirous that *Charles* should conquer *Naples*; but that his Design was, when he had made himself Duke of *Milan*, and brought the *French* Army into *Tuscany*, to interpose his Mediation for some Agreement, by which *Alfonso* should acknowledge himself tributary to the Crown of *France*, and give the King a Security for the same; and perhaps dismember from the *Florentines* the Towns they possessed

essed in the *Lunigiana* ; and then prevail with the King to return into *France*. In A. D.
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In this Manner he would humble the *Florentines*, diminish the Strength and Authority of the King of *Naples*, and secure himself in the Sovereignty of the *Milaneſe*, without running thoſe Riſques he had Reason to fear from a conquering *French* Army. That he hoped, as Winter was approaching, the King might meet with ſuch Difficulties as would retard the Courſe of his Victories, ſo as not to be able to proceed any farther than *Florence* till Spring : And as he was apprized of the impatient Temper of the *French*, the Want of Money, and the Diſlike of many of the Courtiers to this Expedition, he truſted that, in the mean Time, an Accommodation might be effected. But whatever were *Lodovico's* firſt Deſigns, certain it is, that, tho' he had in the Beginning uſed all his Endeavours to detach *Piero* from the *Aragonians*, he now tampered, very ſecretly, with him, and encouraged him to perſiſt in his Alliance with *Alfonſo*, promiſing that he would ſo manage Matters, that the King of *France* ſhould either not paſs, or, if he did, ſhould

A. D. 1494. soon return without attempting any thing on this Side the Mountains. This Nègotation was carried on by his Minister residing in *Florence*, who was commissioned never to cease pressing this Point. *Lodovico* was either sincere, or being bent on *Piero's* Destruction took this Method to compleat it, leaving him no Room for a Reconciliation with the King of *France*. *Piero* gave Notice of these Negotiations to *Alfonso*, who counselled him to communicate them to the King of *France*: Wherefore *Piero*, feigning himself indisposed, after concealing the *French* Minister where he might over-hear the Conference, sent for *Lodovico's* Ambassador; then repeating what the Ambassador had before proposed, together with his Promises, said it was owing to his Master's Authority, that he had so obstinately refused the King of *France's* Offers; and, grievously complaining that he should be so earnest in soliciting the King to come into *Italy*, concluded, That since *Lodovico's* Actions were not conformable to his Promises, he was under a Necessity to take a Resolution not to involve himself in so great a Danger,

A Plot
against
Lodovico.

Danger. The *Milanese* replied, That he had no Reason to doubt of his Master's Faith; if on no other Account, yet at least because it would prove equally dangerous to him if the King of *France* should conquer *Naples*; exhorting him with the most powerful Persuasions to persist in his Sentiments, for by departing from them he would be the Cause of reducing himself and all *Italy* into Slavery. The *French* Ambassador informed the King with what he had heard, and assured him that he was betrayed by *Lodovico*. But this cunning Device was not attended with the Effect proposed by *Alfonso* and *Piero*; on the contrary some of the *French* Ministry themselves having informed *Lodovico* of what had passed; he became more enraged than ever against *Piero*, and pressed the King, with great Earnestness, not to lose any farther Time.

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Now not only the vast Preparations by Land and Sea, but also Heaven and Men seemed to prognosticate grievous Calamities to *Italy*: For all those who made a Profession of having attained, either by Skill

A. D. Skill or by divine Revelation, to a Know-
 1494. ledge of future Events, joined in declar-
 ing that there appeared greater and more
 frequent Changes, with stranger and more
 terrible Accidents, than had been known,
 for many Ages, in any Part of the World.

A Report
 of several
 Prodigies.

And with no less Terror to Mankind it
 was confidently reported that several Pro-
 digies had happened in different Parts of
Italy: That three Suns, in the Night, had
 appeared in *Puglia*, in the Midst of the
 Firmament, surrounded with Clouds
 full of dreadful Thunder and Light-
 ning: That in the Territory of *A-*
rezzo Bands of Men in Armour, on huge
 Horses, accompanied with a terrible Noise
 of Drums and Trumpets, had been plainly
 seen to pass through the Air for several
 Days together: That, in divers Parts of
Italy, the sacred Images and Pictures had
 visibly sweated: Women and Animals
 had produced several Monsters: And that
 many other Accidents, that seemed contra-
 ry to the ordinary Course of Nature, had
 happened in divers Parts: Whence the
 Populace, already alarmed with the Ap-
 prehensions of the Power and Fierceness of
 the

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the *French*, were under the greatest Consternation. They were told, that History was full of the Devastations committed by them in former Times: How they had plundered all *Italy*, and destroyed *Rome* with Fire and Sword: And that *Asia*, and all Parts of the World, some time or other had felt the Weight of their Arms.

THESE Fears, produced by Celestial Signs, Predictions, Prognostics, and Prodigies, were every Day increased with the News they received of their Effects being at Hand: For *Charles*, fixed in his Resolution, was now come to *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, and could neither be dissuaded from going personally into *Italy* by the Intreaties of his whole Kingdom, nor retarded by the Want of Money; there not being, at that Time, a Sufficiency for the present Exigencies, without pawning, and that for no considerable Sum, certain Jewels he had borrowed of the Duke of *Savoy*, the Marchioness of *Montferrato*, and some other Noblemen of his own Kingdom. All the Money of the Finances, and what *Lodovico* had left him, had partly been expended

pended in fitting out his Fleet, on which great Dependance had been laid, and the rest inconsiderately dissipated at *Lyons* amongst his Favourites. Nor could he, easily, procure a fresh Supply: For, in those Days, Princes were not accustomed to extort Money from their Subjects, as they have since been taught to do, by immoderate Avarice and Ambition, without any Regard to human and divine Laws.

IN this Disorder, and on so slender a Foundation, *Charles* undertook this important War, hurried on rather by Impetuosity and Rashness, than guided by Prudence and Counsel. But, as it often happens at the Entrance upon the Execution of new, great, and hazardous Exploits, how maturely soever projected, that Men are apt to frighten themselves with the Difficulties they raise in their Minds; so now, when the King was just setting out, and in Motion towards the *Alps*, a great Murmur spread over the Court, some complaining of the common Difficulties attending such an Expedition, others of the Perfidiousness of the *Italians*, and,

above

Murmurs
in the
French
Camp.

above all, of the Treachery of *Lodovico A. D.*
Sforza, against whom they might be the ^{1494.}
more exasperated, as they had, perhaps,
heard that a Sum of Money expected from
him was not arrived: And not only those
who had ever opposed it began now boldly
to exclaim, but even some of those who
had been the principal Promoters, and, amongst
the rest, the Bishop of *St. Malo*, began
visibly to waver. These Clamours, The
coming at last to the King's Ears, raised King's Ir-
such a Commotion in all the Court, and in resolution.
his own Breast, and such an Inclination
to stop all Proceedings, that he suddenly
gave Orders for the Troops to halt; where-
fore several Officers, who had already set
out, returned back, supposing there would
be no Expedition to *Italy*. And it was
thought that would have been the Case,
if the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, a fa-
tal Instrument then, before, and after, of
all the Calamities of *Italy*, had not inter-
posed, and with the Authority and Veho-
mence of his Speech melted the almost
frozen Spirits of the Army, and brought
the King back to his former Resolution.
He not only refreshed the King's Memo-
ry

A. D.

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ry with the Motives which had induced him to engage in so glorious an Undertaking, but laid also before him the Scorn with which he would be treated by the whole World, if through his Levity so noble a Design was not carried into Execution.

Speech of
the Cardi-
nal of San
Piero in
Vincola.

“ To what Purpose, said he, has your Majesty weakened your Barrier by the Restitution of the Towns of *Artois*, to your exposing the Frontiers of your Kingdom on that Side? For what Reason have you opened a Door to the King of *Spain* to enter your Kingdom, by parting with *Roussillon*, to the great Dissatisfaction of your Nobility and People? Such important Concessions were never made by Princes, but to free themselves from the utmost Dangers, or with a View of obtaining some signal Advantage. But what Danger has appeared? What Necessity for changing your Resolution? What Reward could be expected, but of purchasing much greater Shame, and even that at a very dear Rate? What new Accidents, what Difficulties have arisen? What Dan-
gers

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gers have been discovered since the Publication of this Enterprize to the whole World? On the contrary, are not the Hopes of Victory rather manifestly increased every Hour, the Foundation on which the Enemy built all their Hopes of Defence now failing them? For the *Aragonian* Fleet, after making a vain Attempt on *Porto Venere*, is shamefully fled back into the Port of *Livorno*, without obtaining any Advantage against *Genoa*, defended by so many Soldiers, and by a Fleet more powerful than their own; and a few of your Troops, posted in *Romagna*, have been able to prevent *Ferdinando* from advancing into *Lombardy*. With what a Panic, then, must your Adversaries be seized when they hear that the King himself, at the Head of so vast an Army, has passed the *Alps*! What Tumults will arise in all Parts! With what a Terror will the Pope be affected; when, from his Palace, he views the Arms of the *Colonna's* at the Gates of *Rome*! How confounded *Piero de' Medici*, to see those of his own Blood rise up against him, and his City loudly calling on the Name of the *French*, and
ardently

A. D.

1494.

A. D.

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ardently desirous of recovering their Liberties infringed by him ! Nothing will be able to retain your Majesty's Rapidity till you arrive on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*, where your Approach will diffuse the same Tumults and Terrors, and nothing else will be seen but Flight or Rebellion. Can there be any Apprehension of a Want of Money ? None surely : For as soon as the Noise of your Arms, and the Thunder of that impetuous Artillery is heard in *Italy*, the *Italians* will strive who can bring the greatest Quantities. And, besides, if any one should offer to resist, the Spoils, the Prey, the Riches of the Conquered will maintain the Army. For the *Italians*, being accustomed rather to a Show of than a real War, will not have Vigour enough to sustain the *French* Fury. What Fears then, what Confusion, what Dreams, what Spectres of Danger have possessed your Royal Breast ? Where is the Magnanimity, where is the Fierceness, with which you boasted, but four Days since, that you could overcome all *Italy* united together ? He desired he would consider, that Things now
were

were gone too far to recede ; since his Towns were alienated, Ambassadors admitted, sent, and dismissed ; the necessary Expences and Preparations made ; his Intentions public, and he come in Person so near the Foot of the *Alps*. The State of his Affairs was now such, that, tho' the Expedition were to appear never so hazardous, it could not be avoided ; there being no Medium, in his present Situation, between Glory and Infamy, Flight and Triumph, or his being a King the most esteemed, or the most despised in all the World. Why, then, should he hesitate one Moment to proceed, and gather the Fruits of those Victories already prepared for him ?”

THIS was the Substance of the Cardinal's Speech, which according to his Nature, was delivered more with efficacious Reasonings, and expressive Gestures, than with ornamental Words ; and had such Effect on the King, that he would not hearken to any but those who encouraged the War, and departed that very Day from *Vienne*, accompanied by all the Flower of

The King
marches
into Italy.

A. D. his Nobility and Officers, excepting the
 1494. Duke of *Bourbon*, who was left Regent,
 and the Admiral, with some others, who
 were made Governors, and left to take
 Care of the most important Provinces. The
 March was ordered into *Italy* by *Mongi-
 nevra*, a much easier Pass than that of
Monfeni, over which of old *Hannibal*, with
 immense Trouble, made his Way *.

The King
 arrives at
Asti.

THE 9th of *September*, 1494, *Charles* ar-
 rived at *Asti*; bringing with him into *Italy*
 the Seeds of innumerable Calamities, horri-
 ble Events, and Changes in all Scenes of Af-
 fairs: For from this Passage derived their Ori-
 gin not only Changes of States, Subversions
 of Kingdoms, Desolations of Cities, and
 most cruel Slaughters; but also new Fashions,
 new and bloody Ways of making War, and
 Diseases unknown till those Days: Be-
 sides, the Foundation and Arts of Govern-
 ment, which connected the Union of our
 Princes, have been ever since so unhinged,
 that they could never after be reinstated;
 so that a Door was left open for strange
 Nations,

* The Road to the Foot of *Monfeni*, or *Monfenis*, was
 not passable for Wheel Carriages, till made so by a Duke
 of *Savoy* in the last Century.

Nations, and Armies of Barbarians to invade and oppress us. And for our greater Unhappiness, that our Shame may not be lessened by the Valour of the Conqueror, as to the Man who by his Coming was the Author of our Miseries, it must be owned, that tho' he was so amply endowed with the Gifts of Fortune, yet he was no ways favoured by Nature either in Body or Mind : For certain it is that *Charles*, even from his Youth, was of a weak and infirm Constitution ; short, and very ugly, if you except some Sprightliness and Majesty in his Eyes ; and his Limbs were so disproportioned, that he had rather the Appearance of a Monster than a Man. He was not only ignorant of the polite Arts, but hardly knew the Figures of the Letters : A Soul aspiring after Dominion, for which of all Things he was the least qualified, for he was ever imposed upon by his Courtiers, with whom he knew not how to preserve either Majesty or Authority. Indolent in every thing that required Trouble, and what he undertook was conducted with little Prudence or Judgment. If any thing appeared in him worthy of Praise, if tho-

A. D.

1494.

A. D. roughly examined, it was yet farther from
 1494. Virtue than Vice: For he had an Inclination to Glory, but then he acted rather by Impulse than Counsel. He was liberal, but inconsiderate, without Measure or Distinction; steady, sometimes, in his Resolutions; but oftener from an ill-grounded Obstinacy than Constancy; and what many called Goodness, deserved rather the Name of Coldness and Weakness of Mind.

*Objetto
dal Fiescho
seizes
Rapalle.*

THE Day he arrived at *Asli* Fortune began to shew herself propitious with a most joyful Omen, and welcomed him with a Piece of good News from *Genoa*. For Don *Federigo*, after retiring from *Porto Venere*, and refreshing himself, and recruiting at *Livorno*, had returned into the same *Riviera*, and landed *Objetto dal Fiescho* with Three Thousand Foot. That Commander, with little Difficulty, took *Rapalle*, a Town Twenty Miles distant from *Genoa*, and began to make Excursions all over the Country. This Beginning was an Affair of no small Importance in such a Town as *Genoa*, infected with Parties, where

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where the least Commotion was very dangerous. Wherefore those who governed that City, that the Enemy might make no farther Progress, sent the Brothers *San Severini*, and *Giovanni Adorni*, the Governor's Brother, with the best Part of the Troops, by Land against *Fiescho*, a sufficient Guard being left at *Genoa*: And the Duke of *The Battle of Orleans**, with a Thousand *Swiss*, embarked in the Fleet, which consisted of Eighteen Gallies, Six Galleons, and Nine large Vessels. As soon as they all met near *Rapalle*, they very briskly attacked the Enemy, who defended the Bridge in the Suburbs that leads into a small Plain, which extends itself as far as the Sea.

A. D.

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The Battle of Rapalle.

THE *Aragonians*, besides their own Forces, were defended by their Situation, those Places being rendered stronger by their Ruggedness than by military Fortifications, and therefore the first Attack did not promise Success: For the *Swiss*, not having Room to extend themselves, began to give Way; till the brave Country People,

M 3

ple,

* The Duke of *Orleans* was married to *Anne*, the King's Sister.

A. D.

1494.

Flight of
the Ara-
gonians.

ple, who were Friends to the *Adorni*, and knew how to fight in those craggy Mountains, crowded in from all Quarters; and at the same time the Artillery from the Fleet, which had approached as near as it could to the Shore, beginning to take the *Aragonians* in Flank, they began to open; and when they were driven from the Bridge, *Obgetto*, whose Partisans had not stirred to his Succour, hearing that *Luigi dal Fiescho* was near them with a good Body of Foot, for Fear of being attacked in the Rear, was, according to the Custom of Exiles, the first that ran away towards the Mountains, and his Example was followed by the rest. There were killed, in fighting and in the Pursuit, above a Hundred Men; doubtless a great Slaughter, if we consider the Manner of fighting in *Italy* in those Days. * Amongst the many Prisoners was *Giulio Orsini*, who was in the Service of *Alfonso*, and had followed the Army with Forty Men at Arms, and some Cross-Bows on Horseback, *Fregosino*, Son of the Cardinal

* *Obgetto*, after being stopped and searched three times in his Flight, said facetiously to his Son, Let us strip, and be as naked as *Adam*, and then we shall pass on unmolested. The Bishop of *Nebio*.

nal *Fregoso*, and *Orlandino* of the same *A. D.*
 Family. This Victory intirely secured ^{1494.}
Genoa; For Don *Federigo*, immediately
 after landing the Troops, to avoid fighting
 with the *French* Fleet in the Gulph of *Ra-*
palle, put out to Sea, and despairing, for the
 present, of any farther Advantage, retired
 again to *Livorno*; and tho' he raised here
 some Recruits, and laid several Projects for
 attacking some other Place in the *Rivieras*,
 yet, as commonly one sinks in Courage
 and Reputation when the Beginning of an
 Enterprize miscarries, he became so disheart-
 ened, that he did not venture to make
 any further Attempt worth Notice, giving
 just Reason to *Lodovico* to boast how with
 his Industry and Cunning he had baffled
 the Designs of his Enemies, whose tardy
 Motions were the sole Cause of the Pre-
 servation of *Genoa*, and this was procured
 by his Artifices, and vain Hopes given
 them.

LODOVICO SFORZA and *Beatrice* his ^{*Lodovico*}
 Wife, with great Pomp, and attended with ^{meets the}
 a most honourable Company of many La- ^{King at}
 dies of Quality, celebrated for Beauty, from ^{*Asti.*}

A. D.

1494.

different Parts of the *Milanese*, came to meet the King on his first Coming to *Asti*; as did also *Ercole*, Duke of *Ferrara*. Here, after some Conferences on the common Affairs, it was resolved, without Loss of Time, to march the Army: And that this might be done with greater Speed, *Lodovico*, who was in no small Concern for fear the Army, as the hard Season was approaching, should take up its Winter Quarters in the Dutchy of *Milan*, lent the King another Sum of Money, of which he was in no small Want. But *Charles* falling sick of the Small-Pox, staid near a Month in *Asti*, during which Time the Army was quartered in that City, and in the neighbouring Towns. This Army, as near as I can recollect from the different Accounts, besides the two Hundred Gentlemen of the King's Guard, computing the *Swiss* that went to *Genoa* with the Bailiff of *Dijon*, and those with *Aubigni* in *Romagna*, consisted of 1600 Men at Arms, each of whom was attended with two Archers, and four Horsemen, that is to say, six Horses to each Lance, this being the Name the *French* give to their Men

at

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at Arms, six Thousand *Swiss*, and six *A. D.*
 Thousand Foot of his own Kingdom, Half ^{1494.}
 of whom were of the Province of *Gascony*,
 which, according to a Notion of the *French*,
 abounds with warlike Foot more than any
 other Part of *France*. To join this Army
 there arrived by Sea at *Genoa* a great ^{The} Quantity of Field Pieces and battering ^{*French*}
 Cannon, such as in *Italy* had never hither- ^{Artillery.}
 to been seen. This Plague had its Origin
 many Years before in *Germany*, and was
 first brought from thence by the *Venetians*,
 about the Year 1380, at which Time the
Genoese were at War with them, when the
Venetians were beat by Sea, and so dejected
 for the Loss of *Chioggia*, that if the *Genoese*
 had not let slip so fine an Opportunity, but
 had taken proper Counsel, they might have
 given them what Conditions they pleased.
 The largest Pieces of the Artillery we are
 speaking of, were called *Bombarde*: And
 from that Time were spread through *Italy*,
 and made use of in Sieges. Some of them
 were made of Iron and some of Brass, but
 they were of so large a Size, that, on ac-
 count of the little Experience of the Ar-
 tillery-men, and Clumsiness of their Car-
 riages,

A. D. riages, they were moved from Place to

1494.

Place very slowly and with great Difficulty; and for the same Reason were very unhandy when placed against the Walls of a Town. The Intervals between the Firings were so long, that a great deal of Time was lost, and little Progress was made in comparison to what we see in our Days. This gave Time to the Besieged to cast up Ramparts, and Fortifications behind the Breaches at their leisure. But, notwithstanding all these Impediments, the Violence of the Saltpetre, of which Gunpowder is made, was such, that when these Instruments were set on Fire, the Balls flew with so horrible a Noise, and stupendous Force, even before they were brought to their present Perfection, that they rendered ridiculous all the Instruments, so much renowned, invented by *Archimedes* and others, and used by the Ancients in Sieges of Towns. But now the *French* brought a much handier Engine, made of Brass, called *Cannon*, which they charged with heavy Iron Balls, smaller without Comparison than those of Stone made use of heretofore, and drove them on Carriages with

with Horses, not with Oxen, as was the Custom in *Italy*; and they were attended with such clever Men, and on such Instruments appointed for that Purpose, that they almost ever kept Pace with the Army. They were planted against the Walls of a Town with such Speed, the Space between the Shots was so little, and the Balls flew so quick, and were impelled with such Force, that as much Execution was done in a few Hours, as formerly, in *Italy*, in the like Number of Days. These, rather diabolical than human Instruments, were used not only in Sieges, but also in the Field, and were mixed with others of a smaller Size. Such Artillery rendered *Charles's* Army very formidable to all *Italy*; formidable besides, not for the Number but Valour of the Soldiers. The *Gens d'Armes** were almost all Subjects of *France*, and not of the mean Sort, but Gentlemen, and were not enlisted or dismissed at the Discretion of the Officers, nor paid by them, but by the Ministry. Their Companies were not only compleat, but themselves, their Arms, and their Horses, all in good Order; to effect

* The Historians sometimes calls the Lances *Gens d'Armes*.

A. D. effect which their Income was sufficient.

1494.

They served chearfully, and with Emulation ; inspired not only by an Instinct of Honour which is nourished in the Breast of Persons of Birth, but also because they had Reason to expect a Reward for their valiant Actions, both in Time of Peace and War ; for Things were so ordered, that by different Steps they arrived to the Post of a Captain. The Officers of the Lances, who were all Barons, Nobles, or at least Gentlemen, were also mostly Subjects of *France*, and had the same Incitement to Glory. When any one of them was at the Head of a Hundred Lances, no Captain being allowed to command above that Number, he was at the Height of his Wishes, and all he had then to do, was to behave in such a Manner as to merit his Prince's Approbation, and therefore lay under no Temptation to go into another Service, either to gratify Ambition or Avarice, and was free from any Emulation of being at the Head of a greater Company than his own.

THE

THE *Italian* Militia were quite the Reverse, in which many of their Men at Arms, being a Mixture of Peasants, People in low Life, and Subjects of different Potentates, and intirely dependant on their Captains, with whom they agreed for a Salary, and in whose Power it was to retain or dismiss them, were generally Persons that had neither natural nor acquired Parts to enable them to act gallantly. The Captains were very seldom Subjects of the Prince they served, but had often a different Interest, and separate Views, were full of Piques and Jealousies, their Service not commonly limited to a certain Time, and being intirely Masters of their own Companies they seldom kept the Number they were paid for compleat. Nor were they satisfied with what was just, but took all Occasions to impose upon their Masters by exorbitant Accounts; never long settled, but when tired with one Service they passed into another, and tempted by Ambition, Avarice, or any Thing that concerned their Interest, were not only unsettled but often treacherous. Nor was there

A. D. there less Difference between the *French*
 1494. and *Italian* Infantry: For the *Italians*

were not used to fight in firm, ranged Battalions, but being dispersed in the Field, on any Danger, often retired to take Advantage of Banks and Ditches. But the *Swiss*, a very warlike Nation, who by long Experience, and by gaining many glorious Victories, have revived the Fame of the antient Valour, moved to the Charge in regular Battalions of a certain Number of Men in a Rank, and without ever breaking their Array, resisted the Impression of the Enemy like a Wall that cannot be shaken, and almost impenetrable, wherever they had Room to extend their Battalions. The *French* and *Gascon* Foot observed the same Order and Discipline, but did not fight with the same Valour.

WHILE the King was detained by Sickness at *Asti*, fresh Disturbances arose in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. For tho' *Alfonso* had yielded to all the immoderate Demands of the *Colonnas*, yet no sooner had *Aubigni*, with the *French* Troops, entered *Romagna*, than they pulled off the
 Mask,

Mask, declared themselves Soldiers of the King of *France*, and after corrupting some of the *Spanish* Garrison got Possession of the Cittadel of *Ostia*. The Pope took this Opportunity to complain of the injurious Dealing of the *French* to all the Christian Potentates, especially to the King of *Spain*, and Senate of *Venice*; of which latter he made a fruitless Demand of the Succours with which they were bound to assist him by the Confederacy contracted between them but the last Year: And turning his Thoughts, with a firm Resolution, on preparing for War, he cited *Prospero* and *Fabritio* to *Rome*; and, on their Refusal to appear, ordered their Palaces in *Rome* to be razed: Then, joining his Troops with Part of those of *Alfonso*, commanded by *Virginio* on the River *Teverone* near *Tivoli*, he ordered them to invade the Territories of the *Colonnas*, who had not above Two Hundred Men at Arms, and a Thousand Foot. But the Pontiff afterwards mistrusting that the *French* Squadron, which was reputed to be sailed from *Genoa* to the Relief of *Ostia*, would put in at *Nettuno*, a Town of the *Colonnas*, *Alfonso* assembled

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sembled at *Terracina* all the Troops which the Pope and he himself had in those Parts, and laid Siege to *Nettuno*, expecting to be soon Master of the Place. But the *Colonnas* making a vigorous Defence, and the Regiments of *Camillo Vitelli* of *Citta di Castello*, and of his Brothers, who had lately entered into the *French* Service, being arrived in their Territories without Opposition, the Pope recalled to *Rome* Part of his Troops which were in *Romagna* with *Ferdinando*, whose Affairs did not proceed with the same prosperous Course as they seemed to take in the Beginning. For when he was arrived at *Villafranca* between *Forli* and *Faenza*, and from thence was proceeding along the main Road towards *Imola*, the Enemy's Army, which was posted near *Villafranca*, and inferior in Strength, retired between the Wood of *Lugo* and *Colombara*, near the *Fossato* of *Genivolo*, which is by Nature a very strong Post, belonging to the Duke of *Ferrara*, from whose Country they were supplied with Provisions. Hence *Ferdinando* being deprived of all Means of attacking them without great Danger, on account of the Strength of their

their Situation, decamped from *Imola*, and advanced to post himself at *Toscanello*, near *Castel San Piero*, in the *Bolognese*. For being desirous to come to a Battle, he endeavoured, by making a Shew as if he intended to march towards *Bologna*, to lay the Enemy under a Necessity of quitting their Camp for one less strong, in order to prevent him from advancing forwards. But their Army, after taking up their Quarters for some Days in the Neighbourhood of *Imola*, entrenched themselves on the River *Santerno*, between *Lugo* and *Sant' Agata*, with the *Po* behind them, in a Camp strongly fortified. *Ferdinando* the next Day advanced to the same River near *Mordano* and *Bubano*, within Six Miles of their Camp; and the Day following he approached within one Mile of them, in Order of Battle; but after waiting some Hours, to no Purpose, in a wide Plain, very commodious for an Engagement, and seeing the manifest Danger of attacking them in their Entrenchments, he went and posted himself at *Barbiano*, a Village of *Cotignuola*, keeping no longer towards the Mountains as he had formerly done,

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but flanking the Enemy, having always the same Intention of constraining them, if it were possible, to come out of their almost impregnable Situation. Hitherto the Affairs of the Duke of *Calabria* appeared to proceed much to his Reputation, for the Enemy openly declined to engage, defending themselves rather by the Strength of their Entrenchments than by the Force of their Arms, and in some Skirmishes the *Aragonians* had rather the Superiority. But the *French* and the *Sforzescan* Army increasing daily by the Arrival of the Troops which at first remained behind, the State of the War soon began to be altered: For the Duke's Ardour being restrained by his Governors, who would not permit him to fight under so much Disadvantage, he retired to *Sant' Agata*, a Town of the Duke of *Ferrara*, where being in an Enemy's Country he entrenched himself, for his Foot were also diminished, and by the Pope's recalling part of the Men at Arms of the Church, his whole Army was much lessened. But a few Days after, on hearing that Two Hundred Lances, and a Thousand *Swiss*, who had

had been sent by the King as soon as he came to *Asti*, were on the Road, and ready to join the Army, he decamped, and fortified himself in the *Cerca* of *Faenza*, which lies between the Walls of the Town, and a wide Ditch about a Mile distant, that surrounds that City, and renders the Situation very strong. He was no sooner retired from *Sant' Agata*, than the Enemy came, and encamped on the same Spot that the *Aragonians* had quitted.

BOTH Armies, without Doubt, in their Turn shewed much Resolution, when one saw the other inferior ; but now their Forces were near equal, each avoided trying the Fortune of a Battle ; so that, what rarely happens, the same Conduct pleased both Armies: The *French* thought they had gained the End for which they had passed from *Lombardy*, if they prevented the *Neapolitans* from advancing farther, that having been the sole Motive for marching out of *Lombardy* ; and *Alfonso*, thinking it no small Advantage if he retarded the Progress of the *French* till Winter, had given positive Orders to his Son, *Giovan Jacopo*

A. D. *Trivulzi*, and Count *Pitigliano*, not to
 1494. trust to Fortune the Fate of *Naples*, without a very fair Opportunity, since the Loss of that Army would be followed with that of the Kingdom.

BUT all *Alfonso's* Precaution could not secure him; for *Charles*, whose violent Spirit was not to be restrained by Seasons or Difficulties, as soon as his Strength permitted, put himself in Motion with his Army, and arriving at *Pavia*, lodged in the Castle, where *Giovanni*, Duke of *Milan*, lay dangerously ill. The Duke was Cousin-german to the King, they being the Sons of two Sisters, Daughters of *Lewis* the Second, Duke of *Savoy*, and the King passing thro' that City, and taking up his Quarters in the same Castle, paid his Kinsman a very kind Visit. As *Lodovico* was present, the Conversation was general: *Charles* only expressed his Sorrow for his bad State of Health, and advised him to cheer himself with Hopes of a Recovery; but all perceived the inward Compassion his Majesty and Attendants had for him, every one assuring himself that the Life of the unhappy

happy Youth was drawing near its End, A. D.
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through the Treachery of his Uncle.

And their Pity was much heightened by the Presence of *Isabella* his Wife, who anxious not only for her Husband, and her Infant Son by him, but also extremely concerned at the Danger of her Father and her other Relations, threw herself in a most miserable Manner, before all the Company, at the King's Feet, and with a Flood of Tears begged he would have Compassion on the Distresses of the *Aragonian* Family. *Charles*, moved with her Youth and Beauty, seemed to pity her; but, as it was impossible to put a Stop to so great a Movement on so slight an Occasion, he answered that his Enterprize was in such a Forwardness as laid him under a Necessity to proceed. From *Pavia* the King advanced to *Piacenza*, and while he stayed there he received the News of *Giovanni Galeazzo's* Death. On this Advice *Lodovico*, who had accompanied him thither, returned immediately with all Speed to *Milan*, and assembled the Ducal Council, when the leading Men, suborned by him, delivered it as their Opinion, that, for the Dignity of that State in such perilous

A. D. Times as threatned *Italy*, it would be very pernicious that the Son of *Galeazzo*, a Child of Five Years old, should succeed his Father: That it was necessary to have a Duke of consummate Wisdom, and it was their Duty, for the Sake of the Public Safety, and, out of Necessity, to dispense with the Disposition of the Law, as the Laws themselves permitted them to do, and to constrain *Lodovico* to give his Consent, that, for the universal Benefit, the Ducal Dignity, which in such Times was a most oppressive Burden, should be transferred on himself.

UNDER this Colour, Honesty giving Way to Ambition, *Lodovico*, tho' he pretended to make some Resistance, the next Morning assumed the Titles and Ensigns of the Dukes of *Milan*, protesting first in private that he received them as belonging to him by the Investiture of the King of the *Romans*.

IT was published abroad, that the Death of *Galeazzo* had proceeded from an immoderate Use of the matrimonial Bed: But it was universally believed thro' *Italy* that

that no natural Infirmary, nor Incontinence A. D.
1494. was the Cause. And *Teodoro* of *Pavia*, one of the Royal Physicians, who was present when the King made his Visit, affirmed that he had observed most manifest Symptoms of Poison. And if that was the Case, no one doubted but *Lodovico* was the Author, as one who, not being content with being the Governor of *Milan* with absolute Authority, but eagerly desirous, according to the common Ambition of great Men, to make himself more illustrious by Titles and Honours, and much more induced by imagining that the Death of the lawful Prince was necessary for his own Security, and the Succession of his Children, had determined to transfer and establish the Ducal Power and Name on himself. For the Perpetration of this Piece of Villainy, his Ambition must have offered Violence to his natural Temper, which was generally mild, and by no means sanguinary. It was the common Opinion, that he had meditated this Wickedness from the Time he invited the *French* into *Italy*; being persuaded that, whilst the King was with such a numerous Army in the State of

N 4 *Milan,*

A. D. ^{1494.} *Milan*, none would dare to shew his Resentment of so horrid a Deed. Others thought it a new Project owing to a Fear lest the King, as the *French* are quick in their Counsels, should proceed in a precipitate Manner to free *Giovanni Galeazzo* from so deplorable a Subjection, either moved by Consanguinity, or Compassion for his Age, or thinking it more for his Interest that the Dukedom should be governed by his Cousin than by *Lodovico*, whose Faith several great Men about the King were continually endeavouring to render suspected. But *Lodovico* having procured the Investiture the Year before, and taking great Care to have the Imperial Privileges expedited a little before the Death of his Nephew, it seemed rather a premeditated and deliberate than a sudden Act springing from the present Danger.

CHARLES rested some Days at *Piacenza*, not without some Thoughts of repassing the Mountains. The Want of Money, and no new Alteration in the Affairs of *Italy* appearing in his Favour, made him doubtful of Success, to which
his

his Suspicion of the new Duke did not a little contribute; it being rumoured that, though at taking Leave of him he had promised to return, it was never his Intention to be so good as his Word. Nor is it unlikely that the villainous Practice of Poisoning, being almost unknown to the Nations beyond the Mountains, but frequent in many Parts of *Italy*, *Charles* and all his Court, besides their Jealousy of *Lodovico's* Infidelity, could not hear his Name mentioned without Horror; and that the King thought himself very much injured, in that he should have procured his Arrival as a Protection to perpetrate with Impunity so detestable a Murder. However it was at last resolved to march forwards, *Lodovico* continually pressing, and promising to return to the King in a few Days; for it did not at all answer his Purpose, that the *French* should remain in *Lombardy*, or return suddenly into *France*.

LORENZO and *Giovanni de' Medici*, who had stole away privately from their Country Houses, presented themselves to the King the Day he left *Piacenza*, and solicited

A. D. solicited his Majesty to approach with his
¹⁴⁹⁴ Army to *Florence*, giving him abundant
Assurances of the Inclinations of the *Flo-*
rentine People to the House of *France*,
and no less of their Hatred to *Piero de'*
Medici, against whom the King's Anger
was not a little increased by some new Pro-
vocations. For his Majesty had sent an
Ambassador from *Asi* to *Florence* with
Proposals of great Advantages, if they
would grant him a Passage through their
Dominions, and abstain from assisting *Al-*
fonso, with a Multitude of Threatenings if
they persevered in their Resolution; and to
strike a greater Terror, the Ambassador was
to quit *Florence* abruptly if they did not in-
stantly comply. As they were at some
Loss to find an Excuse for their Delay, he
was answered; That the principal Citizens
concerned in the Administration were at
their Country-Houses, as usual in that
Season, and therefore they could not satis-
fy him on so sudden a Demand; but that
by an Ambassador, whom they would soon
send on purpose, his Majesty should be ac-
quainted with their Intentions.

IT had been unanimously resolved in the royal Council, that it was more advisable to conduct the Army by the Road that leads through *Tuscany* and the Territory of *Rome* directly to *Naples*, than by that which goes through *Romagna* and the *Marca*, and over the River *Tronto* into the *Abruzzi*; not because they doubted of driving the *Aragonians* before them, who could hardly defend themselves against *Aubigni*, but because it seemed beneath the Greatness of so mighty a King, and the Glory of his Arms, that since the *Florentines* and the Pope had declared against him, he should give Occasion to the Public to imagine he avoided that Rout out of Fear that he should not be able to force his Way thro' their Dominions. They had also a much better Reason for chusing that Road, which was, the Danger of making War in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and leaving *Tuscany* and the Ecclesiastic State, hostile Countries, on their Rear. The Way then through *Tuscany* was chosen, and it was resolved to pass the *Appennines* by the Mountain of *Parma*, and not by the direct Road of *Bologna*.

A. D. ¹⁴⁹⁴ *logna*. This was done to gratify *Lodovico*, who was bent on making himself Master of *Pisa*, and had advised this Rout from their first setting out from *Asti*.

THE Van was conducted by Monseigneur *Gilbert de Mompensier*, of the *Bourbon* Family, a Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*. The King followed with the Rest of the Army, and passed by *Pontremoli*, a Town belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and situated at the Foot of the *Appennine*, on the River *Magra*, which divides the Country of *Genoa*, antiently called *Liguria*, from *Tuscany*. From *Pontremoli* *Mompensier* entered the Country of the *Lunigiana*; Part of which was subject to the *Florentines*, some Castles belonged to the *Genoesè*, and the rest to the Marquisses *Malespina*, who enjoyed their little Dominions, some under the Protection of the Dukes of *Milan*, some under that of the *Florentines*, and others under that of the *Genoesè*. Here *Mompensier* was joined by the *Swiss* who had served at the Defence of *Genoa*, and the Artillery that was brought by Sea to *Spetie*.
Then

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Then approaching *Fivizzano*, a Castle of *A. D.*
the *Florentines*, whither they were con- 1494.
ducted by *Gabriello Malaspina*, Marquis
of *Fosdinovo*, a Friend of the *French*, they
took it by Storm. The Town was plun-
dered, and all the foreign Soldiers, with
many of the Inhabitants, were put to the
Sword. This Manner of Fighting was
quite new to the *Italians*, and filled them
with Amazement and Terror: They had
been long accustomed to see their Wars
carried on with Pomp and Magnificence,
which gave their Armies rather an Ap-
pearance of Shew and Grandeur than of
Danger and Blood.

THE *Florentines* made their principal
Resistance in *Sarzana*, a small City, which
they had well fortified, but not provided
sufficiently against so powerful an Enemy
as was necessary: For the Commander
was not a Man of Note and Authority,
nor was the Garrison numerous, but also
already shamefully discouraged and alarmed
at the Approach of the *French* Army:
Yet it was thought the Town would not
be easily taken, especially the Cittadel; and
much

A. D. much less *Sarzanello*, a Fort well supplied,
 1494. and situated on the Mountain above *Sar-*
zana : For the Army could not stay long
 in that desolate Country, pent up between
 the Sea and the Mountains, they had little
 Provisions, and the Places were distant
 from whence they might be timely pro-
 cured. This had an Appearance of dis-
 stressing the King's Affairs : For though
 he might leave *Sarzana* behind, and as-
 sault *Pisa*, or go to *Lucca*, where the
 Government, by the Duke of *Milan's* In-
 terest, had privately agreed to receive him,
 and from thence proceed through another
 Part of the *Florentine* State ; yet *Charles*
 could not bear the Thoughts of leaving be-
 hind him the first fortified Town that op-
 posed him, and imagined his Reputation
 would be so much diminished, as to en-
 courage a Resistance wherever he came.
 But by good Fortune, or by Ordination of
 another and higher Power (if the Im-
 prudence and Faults of Men deserve such
 Excuses) a sudden Remedy offered itself
 against this Impediment ; for *Piero de'*
Medici had no greater Courage nor Con-
 stancy in Adversity, than Moderation and
 Prudence

Prudence in Prosperity. The *Florentines* A. D.
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were every Day more and more apprehensive of the Mischiefs arising from their Refusal to comply with the King, not so much for the Consequences of a fresh Edict, by which all their Merchants in general had been banished *France*, as for the Dread they had of the King's Power, which was greatly increased since he passed the *Alps*, and which he had exercised with so much Cruelty at *Fivizzano*. On these Considerations every one detested the Rashness of *Piero de' Medici*, who trusting more to himself and the Counsels of rash and arrogant Ministers, bold in Times of Peace, but dejected and useless in Times of Danger, than to those of trusty and experienced Citizens, ever Friends to his Father, had, without any Necessity, so inconsiderately drawn upon them the Arms of a most powerful King of *France*, become more so by the Assistance of the Duke of *Milan*. They had the greater Reason to be alarmed, because *Piero* was quite ignorant of military Affairs; their Capital and State not fortified, and so unprovided with Soldiers and Ammunition, that they were
in

A. D.

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in no Condition to defend themselves against so formidable an Enemy. Nor did it appear that any of the *Aragonians*, for whom they had exposed themselves to so much Danger, were engaged, except the Duke of *Calabria* against a small Body of *French* in *Romagna*: That, in consequence, their abandoned City was left exposed to the Rage and Vengeance of a Prince, who had taken so much Pains not to be under a Necessity of doing them Hurt. This Disposition, almost universal, was heightened by many noble Citizens, who highly disliked the present Government, and could not bear that one Family should assume the Power of the whole Republic. These augmenting the Fears of those who were disposed to be fearful, and giving Boldness to those who were fond of Alterations, had exasperated the People to such a Degree, that it was expected the City would soon be in a Tumult; to which the People were the more incited by the Pride and immoderate Proceedings of *Piero*, who, in many Instances, had departed from the civil and mild Behaviour of his Ancestors, and was on that account

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account, from his Youth, become odious A. D.
1494.
in general to the People. We are well assured that *Lorenzo*, his Father, who had studied his Temper, was often known to have complained to his most intimate Friends, that he foresaw the Imprudence and Arrogance of his Son would occasion the Ruin of his Family.

PIERO, then, terrified at the Danger he had before so rashly despised, and finding himself disappointed of the Succours promised him by the Pope and *Alfonso*, who were grieved for the Loss of *Ostia*, and whose Thoughts were employed on the Siege of *Nettuno*, and in providing against their Fears of the *French* Army, took a precipitate Resolution to seek amongst his Enemies that Safety he feared was not to be found any longer amongst his Friends. He had indeed his Father's Example before him ; who in the Year 1479, being reduced to great Straits in the War which Pope *Sixtus* and *Ferdinando* were waging against the *Florentines*, went to *Naples*, and brought back Peace to his Country, and Safety to himself. But it is doubtless very danger-

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ous to follow Examples, if the same Reasons do not correspond, not only in general but also in all particular Circumstances, if Things are not conducted with equal Judgment, and if, besides all other Foundations, the same Fortune has not its Share in them.

PIERO, having left *Florence* with this Resolution, had soon Notice that the Horse of *Pagolo Orsini*, and Three Hundred Foot, sent by the *Florentines* to reinforce the Garrison of *Sarzana*, had been routed by a Party of the *French*, who had passed the *Magra*, and the greater Part of them killed or taken Prisoners. 'Till he could procure a Pass he stopped at *Pietra Santa*, whither the Bishop of *St. Malo*, and other Courtiers resorted, and conducted him in Safety to the Army the same Day that the King, with the rest of his Forces, had joined the Van that lay before *Sarzanello*, and battered it, but with little Hopes of taking it.

PIERO, being introduced to the King, was favourably, to all Appearance, though not heartily received by him; but he found
Means

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Means to mitigate, in a great measure, his ^{A. D.} Indignation, by submitting at once to all ^{1494.} his vast and unreasonable Demands. He agreed that the Fortresses of *Sarzana*, *Sarzanello*, and *Pietra Santa*, which were the Keys of the *Florentine* Dominions on that Side, with the Citadels of *Pisa* and *Livorno*, Places of great Importance to the State, should be delivered to the King, who, by a Writing under his own Hand, should be obliged to restore them, as soon as he should be possessed of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He also engaged that the *Florentines* should lend the King Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, after which they were to be admitted into his Confederacy, and be under his Protection. These Articles, promised only by Word of Mouth, were to be drawn up in Writing in *Florence* when *Charles*, as he intended, passed thro' that City. But the Consignment of *Sarzanàna*, *Sarzanello*, and *Pietra Santa*, was not deferred, but they were immediately by *Piero* put into the King's Hands, as were a few Days after, by his Orders, the Citadels of *Pisa* and *Livorno*. The *French* themselves were amazed at his easy Compliance with

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Things of such Importance ; for the King, without Doubt, would have been content with easier Terms.

It may not be improper to relate, here, the Repartee of *Lodovico Sforza*, who came to the Army the Day after *Piero* arrived. *Piero* told him that, out of Respect to his Person, he had gone out to meet him, but that he had deceived him by mistaking the Way : *Lodovico* very readily answered, “ It is certain that one of us mistook, but perhaps it was you ; ” reproaching him as it were with having incurred so many Disasters and Dangers by neglecting his good Counsels : But we shall find in the Sequel, that they both mistook the right Road ; but to the greater Shame and Unhappiness of him, who, seated in a higher Station, made Profession of being a Guide to all the rest by his Prudence. *Piero's* Compliance not only secured *Tuscany* to the King, but also removed all Obstacles in *Romagna*, where the *Aragonians* were already declining ; it being difficult for those who were threatned with imminent

Dan-

Danger themselves to provide at the same *A. D.*
 Time against those of others. 1494.

WHILST *Ferdinando* remained secure in the strong Lines of the *Cerca* of *Faenza*, whither he had retired with his Army, the Enemy returned towards *Imola*, after they had tried in vain, with Part of the Army, to possess themselves of the Castle of *Bubano*; for as it was of a small Circumference, the few in Garrison were sufficient to defend it, and the Country about it lying low was all overflowed. They took however by Assault the Castle of *Mordano*, which was a strong and well garrisoned Fortrefs; but the violent Force of the Artillery, and the Bravery of the *French* in the Attack was such, that tho', in passing the Ditches full of Water, several of them were drowned, yet the Besieged could not withstand their Fury, and they exercised indeed so much Cruelty in putting to the Sword the Inhabitants of all Ages and Sexes, that they filled all *Romagna* with great Fear and Horror. *Caterina Sforza* was so alarmed that, despairing of Succours, to avoid the present Danger, she capitulated with the *French*, promising

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missing them all Conveniencies in the States belonging to her Son. Wherefore *Ferdinando* suspecting the Affections of the *Faventines*, and thinking it very dangerous to remain between *Imola* and *Forli*, especially as he was apprised of *Piero's* Journey to *Sarzana*, retired under the Walls of *Cesena*, shewing great Marks of Fear in his March : For to avoid passing by *Forli*, he conducted the Army a more difficult and roundabout Way over Hills, by *Castro Caro*, a Fort of the *Florentines*. A few Days after the News came that *Piero* had made a Treaty with the *French*, on which the Troops of that Republic immediately withdrew, and then *Ferdinando* directed his March towards *Rome*.

AT the same Time Don *Federigo*, leaving *Livorno*, retired with the Fleet towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, where *Alfonso* began to find it very necessary, for the Defence of his own Kingdom, to recall those Forces he had sent with such great Hopes to attack the Dominions of other Princes : But his Affairs began to take as bad a Turn nearer Home ; for he miscarried

ried in his Enterprize on *Nettuno*, and had brought his Army to *Terracina*, at the same Time that the *French* Fleet, commanded by the Prince of *Salerno* and Mons. de *Serenon*, appeared before *Ostia*. But they gave out they had no Orders to attack the Pope's Territories, and therefore landed no Men, nor seemed to have any Quarrel with the Pope, notwithstanding that *Charles* a few Days before had refused to admit to his Audience Cardinal *Piccolomini* of *Siena* sent to him as Legate.

WHEN the News of *Piero de' Medici's* Convention arrived in *Florence*, every Breast was fired with high Indignation to see the Dominion of the Republic so diminished, and its Reputation so grievously wounded: Beside their Vexation for so great a Loss, they could not brook that *Piero*, without any Precedent from his Ancestors, without consulting the Citizens, and without any Decree or Authority of the Magistracy, should have alienated so valuable a Part of the *Florentine* Dominions. Nothing but Complaints and Murmurs against him were heard from the

A. D. 1494. Citizens, who excited one another to recover their Liberties, whilst *Piero's* Adherents, struck with Terror, did not dare to take up Arms, or even offer any Thing in his Defence. The Republic was not able to defend *Pisa* and *Livorno*, and tho' they were not confident that they could remove the King from keeping those Fortresses, yet, to separate the Counsels of the Government from those of *Piero*, that at least it might not be taken for granted that the Power of the Public was vested in a private Person, they immediately sent a numerous Ambassy to his Majesty, chusing the most disaffected to the Grandeur of the *Medici*. *Piero*, well imagining that this was the first Step towards a Change of Government, took Leave of the King under a Pretence of seeing executed what he had agreed to, but in reality to endeavour with his Presence to put a Stop to those growing Disorders.

At the same Time that *Charles* moved from *Sarzana* towards *Pisa*, *Lodovico* returned to *Milan*, having first, with a Sum of Money, obtained the Investiture of
Genoa

Genoa for himself and Descendants, tho' A. D.
1494. it had been a few Years before granted to *Giovanni Galeazzo* and his Heirs: Notwithstanding which he departed dissatisfied, because the King had refused, contrary to his former Promise, to let him put Garrisons of his own Men into *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana*, which, as they might facilitate his Acquisition of *Pisa*, a Project ever in his Thoughts, he pretended did belong to *Genoa*, but had been unjustly seized by the *Florentines* a few Years before.

As soon as *Piero* arrived at *Florence*, he found the Minds of most of the Magistrates exasperated against him, and even a Coldness in his best Friends; angry, no doubt, that he had so imprudently transacted Matters of the utmost Consequence contrary to their Advice.

THE Citizens, in general, were highly incensed, and the next Day, the 9th of *November*, as he was going into the Palace where the supreme Magistracy resided, he was ordered by *Jacopo Nerli*, a noble and wealthy Youth, who at the Head of some others of the

the

A. D. 1494. the Magistracy stood armed at the Gates, not to enter. This Report being spread all over the Town, the Populace in an Instant took up Arms, and were the more enraged upon hearing that, at *Piero's* Instance, *Pagolo Orsini* was coming with his Men at Arms to his Assistance. *Piero*, destitute of Courage and Counsel, finding he could not get Admittance into the Palace, returned to his own House, where being informed that the Magistracy had declared him a Rebel, he flew with the greatest Precipitation to *Bologna*, whither he was followed by his two Brothers, *Giovanni* the Cardinal, and *Giuliano*, who were also attainted.

GIOVANNI BENTIVOGLIO, who governed *Bologna*, expecting to find in others that Constancy of Mind, which he was not afterwards Master of himself in his Adversities, at the Sight of *Piero* reproached him bitterly for his Cowardice; upbraiding him also with the bad Example he gave to others who had oppressed the Liberty of their Country, by retiring so shamefully, and relinquishing so much Power and Authority

thority without striking a Blow. Thus, thro' the Rashness of an inconsiderate Youth, the Family of the *Medici* fell for the present from an almost sovereign Power, which they had exercised in *Florence*, for sixty Years successively ; a Power first exercised, and by Permission, in a manner, of the Republic, by *Cosimo*, *Piero's* Great Grand-Father, a Citizen of singular Prudence, and immense Riches ; for which he was renowned in all Parts of *Europe*, but more so for his Magnificence, Liberality, and truly Royal Soul : For as he had more at Heart the immortalizing his Name, than providing for his Descendants, he expended above Four Hundred Thousand Ducats in building Churches, Monasteries, and other sumptuous Edifices, not only in his own Country, but in many other Parts of the World. His Grand-Son *Lorenzo*, a Man of excellent Abilities, and a great Statesman, was not less generous, tho' not so rich ; and had a more absolute Power, tho' his Life was of a shorter Duration. The *Italians*, in general, and several foreign Princes, paid a great Regard to the Wisdom of his Counsels, the

Want

A. D.

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A. D. Want of which more clearly appeared soon
 1494. after his Death, for with him all Friend-
 ship and Concord in *Italy* seemed to
 expire.

THE same Day the Change of Govern-
 ment was made in *Florence* the *Pisans* in
 a popular Manner presented themselves be-
 fore the King, and, supported by some of
 the Courtiers, who affirmed their Request
 was just, begged his Majesty to restore
 them to their Liberty, which had been
 usurped by the *Florentines*, under whose
 cruel Treatment, and arrogant Dominion
 they had long groaned. The King, not
 rightly weighing the Importance of their
 Petition, but following the Advice of some
 of his Council, answered, contrary to his
 Agreement at *Sarzana*, that they should
 be satisfied. On which the People im-
 mediately took up Arms, pulled down
 from the public Places all the *Florentine*
 Standards, and very eagerly asserted their
 Liberty. The King, however, inconsistent
 with himself, hardly knowing what he
 had granted, ordered the *Florentine* Ma-
 gistrates to remain, and exercise their usual
 Jurisdiction,

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Jurisdiction, and at the same time gave the A. D.
 old Castle to the Custody of the *Pisans*, 1494.
 keeping for himself the new Citadel of
 much more Importance.

THESE Events at *Florence* and *Pisa* confirm the Proverb, “ That Men, when their ill Fate approaches, lose that Prudence which would have enabled them to prevent their evil Destiny.” The *Florentines*, always distrustful of the Faith of the *Pisans*, though they had Reason to expect this Revolution, did not summon, as they usually did on the least Occasion, great Numbers of the principal Men of *Pisa* to come to *Florence*; nor did *Piero de’ Medici*, in so great a Danger, fortify the Market Place and the Palace with foreign Guards, as had been often practised on trivial Accidents, which Provisions would have put an effectual Stop to these Changes. But in these Affairs of *Pisa*, it is manifest that the Authority of *Lodovico*, who had carried on private Intelligence for this Purpose with some *Pisans* that were banished for their private Misdemeanors, gave Rise to
this

A. D. 1494. this Revolt of the *Pisans*, who are by Nature very great Enemies of the *Florentine* Name. And the same Day *Galeazzo San Severino*, his Minister, who accompanied the King, incited the People to this Tumult, which *Lodovico* expected would soon reduce that City to his Obedience; little thinking, in how short a Time after, this Revolution would prove the Occasion of all his Miseries.

IT is likewise well known, that some of the *Pisans* communicating the Night before their Intentions to the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, he, who, perhaps, never before had been the Author of pacific Counsels, very gravely told them, they ought not to be carried away with a superficial Notion at the Beginning of Things, but should maturely weigh what Consequences they might in Process of Time produce. He observed to them that Liberty was precious, and much to be coveted, nay at all Events to be procured, when there was any Appearance of maintaining it: But that *Pisa*, a City depopulated and poor, was not in a Condition to defend

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defend itself against the superior Force of the *Florentines*: That it was a very fallacious Way of reasoning to promise themselves that the Authority of the *French* King would be sufficient to preserve them: For allowing the *Florentine* Money to be less prevailing than it was, yet the Articles of *Sarzana* were so much in the King's Favour, that he could not continue to assist them for any Time: Besides, the *French* were not always to be in *Italy*, and if from past Events we may form Conjectures of the future, it would be very imprudent to hazard being exposed to continual Dangers, without a Prospect of continual Resources to oppose them, and with uncertain Hopes to enter into a certain War with a more powerful Neighbour, without being able to assure themselves of any real Succours; because they depended on the Will of others, and, what is more, upon many various Accidents to which human Affairs are liable: And should they even obtain them, this would not avert, but rather increase the Calamities of a War; for they would be then annoyed by the Soldiers of the Enemy,

and

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A. D. and burthened by those of their Friends ;

1494.

for these last would consider, that they did not fight for their own, but for the Empire of another ; the Consequence of which must be, that they would only change one Slavery for another : For no Prince would chuse to be at the Trouble and Expence of a War, which, on account of the Riches and Vicinity of the *Florentines*, who, whilst they had any Spirit left, would never cease to molest them, could not be carried on without vast Difficulty. During this Confusion, *Charles* departed from *Pisa* towards *Florence*, not well determined in himself how to act with the *Pisans*. He halted at *Signa*, Seven Miles from *Florence*, to give Time for allaying the Tumults in that City, where the People had not laid down their Arms since the Expulsion of *Piero de' Medici* ; and that he might be joined by *Aubigni*, for whom he had sent, in order to make his Entry into *Florence* with the greater Terror ; and had ordered him to leave behind the Artillery at *Castro Caro*, to dismiss the Five Hundred *Italian* Men at Arms, which were

were in his Pay in *Romagna*, and also *A. D.*
 those of the Duke of *Milan*; so that of ^{1494.}
Sforza's Men the King was accompanied
 only by Count *Gajazzo*, and Three Hun-
 dred Light Horse.

By many Indications it was conjectured,
 that the King's Intention was to induce
 the *Florentines* by the Terror of his Arms
 to yield him the absolute Dominion of
 their City; nor could he sufficiently dis-
 guise this Design to their Ambassadors,
 who several times made their Application
 to him at *Signa* to settle the Manner of
 his Entry, and put the finishing Hand
 to the Treaty in Agitation. *Charles* was,
 no doubt, greatly irritated against the
Florentines, and highly resented the Op-
 position made, though it was plain the
 Republic had no Hand in it, and the City
 had been very sollicitous to vindicate itself
 against the Charge: But their Justification
 was not admitted, because his Ministers,
 as was imagined, thought it would be an
 Error in Politics to lose the Opportunity
 of seizing on so important a Town; whilst
 others, moved by Avarice, expecting to

A. D. enrich themselves with the Plunder, fomented the King's Indignation. And the whole Army was clamorous, and eager to have them punished as an Example to others for being the first in *Italy* who had presumed to resist the Power of *France*. There were not also wanting several of the chief Men in his Council, who persuaded him to restore *Piero de' Medici*, particularly *Monf. Brescia*, Brother to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was induced by private Tyes of Friendship and Promises ; so that the King, either moved by the Persuasions of those Counsellors, in Opposition to the Bishop of *St. Malo*, or hoping to terrify the *Florentines* into a Compliance with his Will, or that he might have the fairer Opportunity of taking what Part he thought fit on any sudden Emergency, wrote a Letter to *Piero*, and ordered *Monf. Filippo* to write him another, inviting him to come into the Neighbourhood of *Florence*, where, in consideration of the good Disposition he had shewn in delivering up the Forts, and of the Friendship which had subsisted betwixt their Fathers, it had been resolved to reinstate him

him in his Authority. The Letters did ^{A. D.} not find him at *Bologna*, as the King had ^{1494.} imagined; for *Piero*, affronted at the rough Speeches of *Bentivoglio*, and apprehensive of being pursued by the Duke of *Milan*, and, perhaps, by the King of *France*, attended by his ill Fate, was departed for *Venice*, whither the Letters were forwarded by the Cardinal his Brother, who had staid at *Bologna*.

IN *Florence* they were very jealous of the King's Intentions; but as they found themselves without Forces, or Hopes to make an Opposition, it was thought advisable, as less dangerous, to admit him into the Town, hoping by some means or other to appease him. To be prepared, however, against all Events, they ordered many of the Citizens to fill their Houses privately with Country People of the *Florentine* Dominions, and, dissembling the Reason, commanded the General Officers in their Pay to come into *Florence* with a good Number of their Soldiers, and all their Subjects, both in Town and Neighbourhood, to be alert and ready to take up

A. D. Arms at the Toll of the great Bell of the
^{1494.} public Palace.

THE King made his Entry in great Pomp, at the Head of his Army, on Horseback, the *French* and the *Florentines* vying with each other in Magnificence. His Majesty appeared like a Conqueror, his Horse as well as himself in Armour, with his erected Lance resting on his Thigh. A Treaty was immediately set on Foot, but attended with many Difficulties: For besides the immoderate Regard professed by many of the King's Followers to *Piero de' Medici*, and the exorbitant Demands of Money, *Charles* openly required the Dominion of *Florence*; alledging that, by coming in that armed Manner, he had gained it lawfully according to the Rules of War practised by the *French*. At last he receded from this Point, but yet insisted upon leaving behind him Deputies of the long Robe, a Name given in *France* to Doctors and gowned Men. By this Means, according to the *French* Institution, he might have pretended to be invested with a perpetual

petual Kind of Jurisdiction. On the contrary, the *Florentines* were most obstinately bent to preserve their Liberty entire in spite of all Dangers. In treating with such different Views and Interests, the Spirits of each Party became more and more heated and irritated, yet neither of them shewed any Inclination to decide the Controversy by the Sword. For the *Florentine* People, who had Time out of Mind applied themselves to mercantile Affairs, and knew little of military Exercises, and had within their Walls a very powerful King with so great an Army, composed of strange and fierce Nations, stood in vast Awe and Dread. On the other hand, the *French* were under no small Apprehensions of a very numerous People, who had shewn greater Signs of desperate Boldness on the Day that the Government was changed than could have been imagined: Besides, it was rumoured, that at the Toll of the great Bell an innumerable Multitude of Men was to pour in upon them from all the circumjacent Country; and the mutual Fear in which they stood one of another being augmented

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A. D. 1494. by false Reports, each Side tumultuously ran to Arms, but never came to Blows nor gave any Provocation.

THE King's Scheme concerning *Piero de' Medici* did not succeed: For *Piero*, divided betwixt the Hopes of being restored, and Fear of being delivered up to his Adversaries, produced his Letters to the *Venetian* Senate, desiring their Advice. Nothing certainly is more necessary, and at the same Time more dangerous in weighty and momentous Reflections, than to ask Advice; not is it to be doubted but that Counsel is less necessary to the Prudent than to the Imprudent; and yet that the Wise reap very considerable Advantage from Advice. For where is the Man of such consummate Prudence, as always to consider and understand every thing of himself, and amidst a Contrariety of Reasons to discern always the best? Again, what Assurance has he who demands Counsel of being faithfully advised? For he who gives Counsel, if he be not very faithful or affectionate to the Person who consults him, will be induced not only on every interest-
ing

ing Occasion, but by every small Advantage, for every slight Satisfaction, frequently to direct his Advice to the End which

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best answers his Purpose, or suits his Temper ; and those Motives being oftentimes unknown to him who wants Advice, it requires a good Share of Prudence to discover the Perfidiousness of such Counsel. This was the Case of *Piero de' Medici*, for the *Venetians* apprehending that his Return would facilitate the King's Designs to reduce the Affairs of the *Florentines* to his own Management, which, for their own Interest, would be extremely disagreeable to them, and consulting themselves rather than *Piero*, effectually persuaded him not to trust his Person in the Power of the King, who thought himself injured by him. And to work upon him the more effectually to follow their Advice, they offered to take the Charge of his Affairs, and to lend him, when the Times would permit, their Assistance for restoring him to his Country. And not content with this, if it be true what was afterwards reported, they very secretly placed a Guard

A. D. upon him, to, prevent his leaving *Venice* at
 1494. that Juncture.

BUT in the mean Time the Animosities in *Florence* increased on all Sides, and were almost come to an open Rupture: The King would not recede from his last Demands, and the Republic was resolved not to give the intolerable Sums he required, nor consent to allow him any Sort of Jurisdiction or Pre-eminence in their State.

THESE Difficulties, thought unsurmountable without the Force of Arms, were at last removed by the Courage and Resolution of *Piero Capponi*, one of the Citizens appointed to treat with the King ; a Man of great Spirit, and highly esteemed in *Florence* on account of these Qualifications, and because he was by Birth of an honourable Family and descended from Persons who had born a considerable Sway in the Republic. *Capponi* and his Colleagues being one Day in the King's Presence, while one of the royal Secretaries was reading over the immoderate Articles
 which

which were proposed as the ultimate Pro-
positions on the King's Part, he fell in a

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Passion, and violently snatching the Paper out of the Secretary's Hand, tore it to Pieces before the King's Face; adding in a high Tone of Voice, "Since you demand such dishonourable Conditions, sound your Trumpets, and we will sound our Bells;" By which he intended as much as if he had said in plain Words, "Let the Differences be decided by Arms." With this Speech, and with the same Air of Indignation, followed by his Colleagues, he abruptly left the Room. Certain it is, that these Words, from the Mouth of a Citizen known to *Charles* and the whole Court, for but a few Months before he had been the *Florentine* Ambassador in *France*, struck them all with such Astonishment, especially as they did not believe that he durst be so bold without a Cause, that they called him back, and desisting from those Demands which had been refused, an Agreement was made between the King and the *Florentines*, to the following Purport: That, all past Offences being forgiven, the City of *Florence* should be regarded

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garded as a Friend and Confederate, and receive perpetual Protection of the Crown of *France* : That the King for his Security should keep in his Hands the City of *Pisa*, and the Town of *Livorno*, with all their Forts, but be obliged to restore them without any Expence to the *Florentines*, as soon as he should have *finished* his Enterprize on the Kingdom of *Naples* ; which was understood to be *finished*, whenever the King should have reduced the City of *Naples*, or made a Composition by a Peace, or by a Truce for at least two Years, or should, for any other Reason, withdraw his Person out of *Italy* : That the Governors should at present take an Oath to restore the said Places, on any one of the above-mentioned Events ; and that in the mean Time, the Dominion, Jurisdiction, Government, and Revenues of the said Towns should belong to the *Florentines* as before : The same Conditions to be observed with regard to *Pietra Santa*, *Sarzana*, and *Sarzanello* ; but as to the Pretensions of the *Genoese* on those Places, it should be left to the King to procure a Decision of their Differences either by Agreement or by Justice,

Justice, but if they were not terminated by him within the above-mentioned Time, he should restore them to the *Florentines*: That the King might leave in *Florence* two Ambassadors without whose Intervention nothing should come under Debate concerning the said Enterprize while it lasted, nor should the Republic have any Power to chuse a Captain-General of their own Troops, within the said Term, without his Participation. That all the other Towns which had been taken, or had rebelled, should immediately be restored to the *Florentines*, who were permitted to recover them by Force of Arms, if they should refuse to receive them; That within fifteen Days they should present the King with a Subsidy of 50,000 Ducats towards his Expedition, 40,000 more in *March*, and 30,000 in *June*; That the Rebellion of the *Pisans*, and all other Offences committed since, should be pardoned: That *Piero de' Medici*, and his two Brothers should have their Attainder reversed, and their Effects restored, on condition that *Piero* should not approach within a Hundred Miles of the Borders of the Republic, (this

A. D. (this was designed to prevent his settling in
1494. *Rome*) nor his Brothers within a Hundred
of the City of *Florence*. These were the
principal Articles of the Convention be-
tween the King and the *Florentines*, which,
after Stipulation according to Form of Law,
were published with great Ceremony in
the Cathedral in Time of Divine Service,
where the King, at whose Instance this
was done, and the Magistrates of the City,
prostrated before the high Altar, solemnly
swore to observe them, in the Presence of
the Court and all the People of *Florence*.

Two Days after *Charles* left *Florence*,
where he had stayed ten Days, and pro-
ceeded to *Siena*. This City was in Con-
federacy with the King of *Naples*, and the
Florentines, and had submitted to their Au-
thority till the Journey of *Piero* to *Sarzana*
obliged the Citizens to consult their own
Safety amongst themselves. The City of
Siena is populous, has a fertile Territory,
and, next to *Florence*, had long obtained
the Name of the most powerful State in
Tuscany: It was governed by its own
Magistrates, but in such a Manner, that the
Citizens

Citizens were rather amused and pleased with the Name of Liberty, than enjoyed the Effects of it : For the People, divided into a Multitude of Factions or Bodies, by them called Orders, submitted to that Party which, according to the Events of the Times, or by Favour of foreign Potentates, was most powerful. At this Time the Order of the *Monte del Nove* was uppermost.

CHARLES, after staying a very few Days at *Siena*, left a Garrison, because that City was known in antient Times to be devoted to the Empire, and therefore suspected. He then directed his March towards *Rome*, growing every Day more and more insolent from his Successes, hitherto far beyond Expectation : As the Season was fair and favourable more than usual for the Time of the Year, he determined, without loss of Time, to pursue his good Fortune : He was now become terrible not only to his avowed Enemies, but also to his Allies, as well as to those who had given him no Sort of Provocation. For both the *Venetian* Senate, and the Duke

A. D. Duke of *Milan*, astonished at this Rapidity, imagined, especially, by the King's taking Possession of the *Florentine* Castles, and leaving a Guard in *Siena*, that his Thoughts did not terminate in the Acquisition of *Naples*: Therefore, to obviate the common Danger, they began to treat among themselves of a new Confederacy, which they would sooner have brought to Perfection, if, as many had expected, *Charles* had met with a greater Resistance at *Rome*.

It had been settled, that the Duke of *Calabria*, who was join'd by the Pope's Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and by *Virginio Orsini* with the Remainder of the *Aragonian* Army, should make a Stand at *Viterbo*, to prevent the King from advancing; which Place was very proper for that Purpose, besides other Reasons because it was surrounded by the Pope's Territories, and lay near the States of the *Orsini*. But all the Country about *Rome* being in Confusion by the Excursions of the *Colonnas* from the other Side the *Tyber*, and the Impediments which from *Ostia* were laid on
Convoys

the Convoys of Provisions which were used to be brought by Sea to *Rome*, the Duke had not Resolution enough to wait at *Viterbo*: Besides he doubted very much of the Pope's Intentions; for ever since the Revolution of *Piero de' Medici's* Affairs, he had begun to listen to *French* Proposals, which were brought him by Cardinal *Ascanio*, who, before he would venture to come to *Rome*, insisted on the Pope's sending to *Marino*, a Town of the *Colonnas*, his Son the Cardinal of *Valenza*, as a Pledge for his Security. *Ascanio* left *Rome* without bringing *Alexander* to any Determination: For he was divided between a Diffidence of the King's real Intentions towards him, and the Fear of his Forces: Yet as soon as *Charles* was set out from *Florence*, he had begun again to treat of an Agreement, and sent to him the Bishops of *Concordia* and *Terni*, and Doctor *Gratiano* his Confessor, with Instructions to agree at the same Time for himself and for *Alfonso*. But the King's Intention was different, for he was determined to agree only with the Pope, and therefore, changing his Mind, sent to him Mons. *de la Tremouille*, and the President *Gannay*.

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A. D. Gannay. Cardinals *Ascanio*, and *Pro-*

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Prospero Colonna came to *Rome* on this Occasion: But the Pope, immediately on their Arrival, whatever might be the Cause, sent for the Duke of *Calabria* to come into *Rome* with his whole Army, and ordered them immediately to be arrested, and conveyed to the Mole of *Adrian*, formerly called Castle *Crescentio*, now Castle *Sant' Angelo*, demanding of them the Restitution of *Ostia*. During these Tumults the *Aragonians* secured the *French* Ambassadors: But they were immediately released by the Pope's Commands, as were also in a few Days *Ascanio* and *Prospero*, but with an Injunction to quit *Rome* that Instant. He then sent to the King, who had halted at *Nepi*, Cardinal *San Severino*, with a Commission to treat of his own particular Affairs, yet with a very irresolute Mind; sometimes he resolved to stay in *Rome* and defend himself, and then was pleased to see *Ferdinando* and the Generals fortify the weakest Places; at others, judging that Measure impracticable on account of the Want of Provisions, which were intercepted by the Garrison of *Ostia*,
the

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the incredible Number of Strangers, unsettled in their Opinions, and the various Factions amongst the *Romans*, he inclined to abandon that City, and obliged all the Cardinals to give it under their Hands to follow him: Then, alarmed at the Difficulties and imminent Dangers, he would shrink from his last Resolution, and again embrace a Scheme of Composition.

BUT whilst he was in this Uncertainty, the *French* made Excursions on this Side the *Tiber* all over the Country, seizing sometimes on one Village, sometimes on another; and their Progress was so rapid, that none of those little Places offered to make any Resistance, but all gave way to their Violence, and their Example was followed by others, who had very good Reasons for opposing them. Even *Virginio* himself, though bound by so many Ties of Faith, Obligations and Honours to the House of *Aragon*, being Captain-General of the royal Army, Great Constable of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and allied to *Alfonso* by a very near Affinity, his Son, *Gian Giordano*, being married to a

A. D. 1494. natural Daughter of the late King *Ferdinando*, and who had received of them States in their Kingdom, and so many Benefactions, yet, forgetting all these Favours, and that the Calamities of the *Aragonians* owed their first Rise to the espousing his Interest, thought it no Crime, if he remained himself in the Service of the King of *Naples*, to permit his Children to agree with the King of *France*. This was a surprising Step, and which amazed the *French*, who were not accustomed to the subtle Distinctions of the *Italian* Soldiery.

Charles agrees with the Orsini. It was stipulated, that the King's Troops should be received, victualled, and have a free Passage through *Virginio's* Dominions that were in the Pope's Territories: And to depofite *Campagnano* with some other Villages in the Hands of Cardinal *de Gurce*, who promised to restore them, as soon as the Army should leave the *Roman* Territory: And Count *Pitigliano*, with others of the *Orsini* Family, came into the same Agreement.

As soon as these Conditions were signed, *Charles* quitted *Nepi*, and removed to *Bracciano*,

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tiano, the principal Town in *Virginio's* A. D.
 Jurisdiction; and though the Season was 1494.
 unfavourable; and the Difficulties were in- Progress
 creased; he dispatched *Monf. de Ligni* of the
 and *Ives d'Alegre*, with Five Hundred French.
 Lances, and Two Thousand *Swiss* to *Ostia*;
 with Orders to pass the *Tiber*, join the *Co-*
lonnas, who scoured all the Country, and
 force their Way into *Rome*; which they
 had good Reason to hope they might com-
 pass, by the Assistance of the *Romans* of
 their own Faction. By this Time *Civita*
Vecchia, *Corneto*, and at last all the *Ro-*
man Territory was reduced to the Devo-
 tion of the *French*; which so alarmed the
Romans, that all the Court, and all the
Roman People cried out eagerly for an Ac-
 commodation.

THE Pope, therefore, having brought
 his Affairs to a very dangerous Crisis, and
 finding every Day less Probability of mak-
 ing an effectual Defence, would have wil-
 lingly submitted; but then, considering
 he had been one of the first who incited
 the King to undertake this Expedition, and
 afterwards, without any Provocation, had

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employed his Authority, Counfel and Arms to make an obstinate Resistance, he reasonably concluded, that the King would no more keep his Word with him, than he himself had kept his with the King. His Terror was increased on observing that the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, and many other Cardinals his Enemies, were in high Authority with *Charles*, at whose Persuasion, and in regard to his Name of *Most Christian*, together with the known Steadiness of the *French* in religious Engagements, and from the Expectations which are always greater from those who are known to us only by Name, he feared *Charles* would attempt to reform the Abuses in the Church, as was then the common Subject of Discourse. This Thought was above all Things terrible to *Alexander*, when he recollected in what an infamous Manner he had mounted the Throne, and how he had continued to exercise his Function by Manners and Arts entirely answerable to so detestable a Beginning. However, his Suspicions were somewhat abated by the Diligence and efficacious Promises of the King, who, above

Pope embarrased.

above all Things desirous to hasten his March to *Naples*, was willing to remove all Difficulties that the Pope might give him, and therefore sent anew three Ambassadors; the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, the Marshal *de Gié*, and the President *Gannay*. They endeavoured to persuade his Holiness, that it was not the King's Intention to interest himself in what concerned the Pontifical Power ; but being desirous of entering *Rome*, demanded nothing more than what was necessary for his Security of passing forwards, and made Instances that he would freely consent to the King's Entrance into *Rome*, which he had much at Heart, not because it was not in his Power to effect it by Force, but because he might not lie under a Necessity of failing in the due Respect which his Ancestors had ever paid to the Dignity of the *Roman* Pontiffs : That immediately upon the King's Entrance he would find all their Differences converted into the most sincere Love and Friendship.

ALEXANDER was greatly troubled at these Demands, to comply with which

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1494.

was, in reality, to deprive himself at once of the Assistance of his Friends, and put himself entirely in the Power of an Enemy, by receiving him into *Rome* before he had settled his Affairs with him: Yet, at last, finding that of all the Dangers the consenting to these Demands was the least, he ordered the Duke of *Calabria* and his Army to quit *Rome*, having first obtained a Pass from the King of *France*, that he might retire with Safety out of the Ecclesiastical State. But *Ferdinando*, with Contempt refusing the Pass, marched through the Gate of *San Sebastian* the last Day of the Year, 1494, at the same Instant of Time that the *French* Army entered the Gate *del Popolo*, with the King at their Head, armed, with his Lance on his Thigh, in the same Manner that he entered *Florence*.

French
enter
Rome.

1495.

THE Pope, full of Anxiety and Fear, had retired into *Castel Sant' Angelo*, accompanied by none of the Cardinals except *Battista Orsini*, *Ulivieri*, and *Caraffa*, a *Neapolitan*. But the Cardinals *del Vincola*, *Ascanio*, those of the *Colonna* Family, and

and *Savelli*, with many others, resorted to the King, and pressed him to move from the Pontifical See a Pope loaded with such Vices as rendered him odious and detestable to the whole World, and to procure another Election. They represented that it would not be less glorious for him to free the Church of God from the Tyranny of a wicked Pope, than it was for *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, his Ancestors, to free the Popes of holy Life from the Persecution of their unjust Oppressors. They laboured to convince him, that this was not less necessary for his own Safety than desirable for his Glory. For how could he ever trust to the Promises of *Alexander*, a Man by Nature fraudulent, insatiable in his ambitious Desires, shameless in all his Actions, and, as Experience taught, bearing an implacable Hatred to the *French*; and that his Reconciliation at this Juncture was not voluntary, but extorted by Necessity and Fear. The King, induced by these Arguments, as also because the Pope, amongst other Conditions, refused to deliver up *Castel Sant' Angelo*, which was demanded as a Pledge for the

A. D.
1495.
Cardinals
solicit the
Degrada-
tion of the
Pope.

Q 4. Performance

A. D. 1495. Performance of his Promises, twice gave Orders for the Artillery to be brought from the Palace of *San Marco*, where he lodged, and planted against the said Castle. But *Charles* was not inclined by Nature to offend the Pope ; wherefore those had the greatest Sway in his Privy Council who had been corrupted by Gifts and Promises into *Alexander's* Interest, and at last a Treaty was concluded on these Conditions :

Articles
between
the Pope
and the
King of
France.

THAT there should be a perpetual Amity and Confederacy between the Pope and the King for their mutual Defence : That for his Security the Castles of *Civita Vecchia*, *Terracina*, and *Spoleti* (though this last was never given up) should be consigned to him, but restored on the Reduction of *Naples* : That *Alexander* should bury in Oblivion all Injuries received from those Cardinals and Barons who were Subjects of the Church, give him the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and deliver to him *Gemin* the *Ottoman*. It is, it seems, a cruel Custom among the *Turks* for a new Sovereign to establish his Empire with the Blood of his Brothers or nearest Relations.

Wherefore

Wherefore *Gemin*, after the Death of his Father *Mahomet*, to avoid the cruel Persecution of his Brother *Bajazet*, who wanted to destroy him, had retired to *Rhodes*, from whence he was sent into *France*, and at last put into the Power of Pope *Innocent**. *Bajazet*, taking the Advantage of the Avarice of the Popes, in order to keep his Empire in Peace with the Christian Powers, paid annually to *Alexander*, under the Pretext of Alimony, and Charges of guarding him, Forty Thousand Ducats, as an Inducement not to set him at Liberty, or deliver him up to other Princes that might be his Adversaries. *Charles*'s Drift in demanding *Gemin* was to facilitate his Undertaking against the *Turks*, which, elated with vain Adulation, he had resolved on, as soon as he should have brought the *Neapolitans* under his Obedience. The King's Officers had seized in *Romagna* the last Forty Thousand Ducats, remitted by *Bajazet*, which were in the Hands of the Prefect of *Rome* at *Senigaglia* : The King
now

* *Gemin* fled to *Rhodes* for Shelter, but *Pierre Dubisson*, the Grand-Master, on his Arrival, put him in Prison, and afterwards sent him well guarded into *Provence*, from whence he was carried to *Rome*.

A. D. now insisted that no Restitution should be
 1495. required, or Censures inflicted on account
 of that Affair. By the last Article it was
 stipulated, that the Cardinal of *Valenza*
 should follow the King, as Apostolical Le-
 gate, for three Months; the Design of
 which was, that he should remain as an
 Hostage for the Performance of his Fa-
 ther's Engagements.

THIS Agreement being signed, the Pope
 returned to the Pontifical Palace of the *Va-*
tican, and with the Pomp and Ceremonies,
 usual on such solemn Occasions, for the
 Reception of great Kings, he received the
 King in *St. Peter's* Church, where, first
 on his Knees, according to ancient Custom,
 he kissed his Holiness's Feet, and then his
 Face. Another Day he assisted at the
 Pontifical Mass, and took his Place, which
 was after the first Cardinal Bishop, and,
 according to the antient Rites, served
 the Water when the Pope washed his
 Hands. *Alexander*, to perpetuate the Me-
 mory of this Action, had it painted in a
 Gallery of *Castel Sant' Angelo*. He also, at
 the King's Request, created Cardinals the
 Bishops

Pope's
 Reception
 of the
 King of
France.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 213

Bishops of *St. Malo*, and *Mans*, the last a *A. D.*
 Prelate of the *Luxembourg* Family, and gave ^{1495.}
 him all the Demonstrations of a sincere and
 faithful Reconciliation,

CHARLES staid in *Rome* about a Month,
 all the while sending Troops to the Bor-
 ders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which
 was full of Combustions : Before he left ^{Kingdom}
Rome, *Aquila* and the greatest Part of the ^{of Naples}
Abruzzi had declared for him, and set up ^{revolts.}
 his Standard, and *Fabritio Colonna* had
 seized on the Districts of *Albi* and *Taglia-*
cozzo. Nor were there less Disturbances
 in other Parts of the Kingdom : For as
 soon as *Ferdinando* had quitted *Rome*, the
 Effects of the People's Hatred to *Alfonso*
 began to appear : The bad Usage they had
 so lately received from old *Ferdinando* was
 fresh in their Memory : They exclaimed
 vehemently against the tyrannical Oppres-
 sion they had suffered under the late Kings,
 and of the Cruelty and Pride of *Alfonso* :
 They openly testified their Joy for the
 Arrival of the *French* ; so that the
 Reliques of the old *Anjouin* Faction,
 tho' joined to the Memory of the
 Im-

A. D.

1495.

Imprisonment and Banishment of so many Barons at various Times by *Ferdinando*, a Conduct ever a powerful Inducement to effect Alterations in Governments, yet they were nothing in Comparison with other Causes; so ardent was the Disposition of all the People against *Alfonso* without other Motives.

Alfonso in
a Consternation.

As soon as the News of *Ferdinando's* quitting *Rome* reached *Naples*, *Alfonso* was seized with such a Panic, that, forgetful of the great Fame and Glory acquired by his long Experience in the Wars of *Italy*, and despairing to weather so great a Storm, he at once resolved to abandon his Kingdom, and renounce his Title and Authority, in favour of *Ferdinando*. He had, perhaps, some Hopes that himself, who was so odious, being removed, and his Son, a young Prince of great Expectation, become King; a Prince, who for his Goodness was no ways obnoxious, but rather loved by the People, such a Change might allay the great Eagerness of revolting to the *French*; a Measure which if anticipated might have pro-

THE WARS IN ITALY. 215

produced some Effect, but being deferred A. D.
to a Time in which Affairs were not only 1495.
in a vehement Commotion, but on
the Brink of Desolation, was no lon-
ger sufficient to prevent so great a
Ruin.

A REPORT prevailed, (if we may give any Credit to such Reports without the Imputation of Superstition) that the Ghost of old *Ferdinando* appeared three different Nights to *Jacopo*, chief Surgeon to the Court, and first with mild Words, but afterwards with many Threats, ordered him to go to *Alfonso*, and tell him in his Name to relinquish all Hopes of resisting the *French*, it being decreed that his Progeny, after experiencing Misfortunes innumerable and various, should at last be stripped of so famous a Kingdom, and the Family extinguished: That the only Cause was their numberless Enormities, especially that aggravated Barbarity which at *Alfonso's* Instigation he had committed near *Naples*, in the Church of *San Leonardo in Chiaia*, when he returned from *Pozzuolo*: As no other Particulars were mentioned, it
was

A. D.

1495.

was conjectured that *Alfonso* had privately persuaded him to put to Death in that Place several Barons, who had been detained a long Time in Prison. But be that as it will, certain it is, *Alfonso*, tormented both Day and Night with Remorses of Conscience, could get no Rest, the Ghosts of these murdered Barons representing themselves to him in his Sleep, with the People in a Tumult, ready to take Vengeance. Almost distracted with these Reflections, he resolved at once to quit his Kingdom; imparting the Secret only to the Queen, his Mother-in-law, who could not prevail with him to wait a few Days. In vain she pressed him to consult his Brother and his Son; he was obstinate, and went on board one of the four light Gallies which he had loaded with Treasure a few Days before he had compleated the first Year of his Reign: But he shewed in parting as much Fear, as if he had been surrounded by the *French*, and starting at the least Noise, as tho' Heaven and the Elements had conspired in League against him, he fled to *Mazara*, a Town in *Sicily*,
given

Alfonso
abdicates
his King-
dom.

given him some Time before by *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*.

A. D.

1495.

THE King of *France*, in setting out from *Rome*, received the News of this Flight: When he came to *Velletri*, Cardinal *Valenza* eloped from him, and tho' the Pope put on an Air of Resentment, and offered any Satisfaction, yet it was thought he escaped by his Direction, that he might have it in his Power to perform or not his late Agreement. From *Velletri* the Van marched to *Monte Fortino*, a Village in the Campaign of *Rome*, and subject to *Jacopo Conti*, a *Roman* Baron, who first followed *Charles*, but afterwards, out of Hatred to the *Colonnas*, guided more by Passion than Honour, went into *Alfonso's* Service. This Place, tho' strongly situated, was by the Force of the Artillery taken in a few Hours, and all the Inhabitants put to the Sword, except three of *Jacopo's* Children, and a few more, who got into the Citadel, but at the Sight of the Artillery planted against it delivered themselves up Prisoners. The Army afterwards proceeded to *Monte San Giovanni*, that belonged

A. D. 1495. longed to the Marquis of *Pescara*, seated on the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the same Campaign, a Place by Situation strong, well fortified, and provided with a numerous Garrison: For there were Three Hundred foreign Foot, and Five Hundred of the Inhabitants determined to defend themselves to the last, which made People imagine the *French* would be detained here for some Days. But after firing the Cannon for a few Hours, they gave the Assault in the King's Presence, who was come thither from *Verruli*, with so much Bravery, that they overcame all Difficulties, and took it by Storm the same Day, and prompted by their own natural Fury, and also to set an Example to others not to make any Opposition, made a vast Slaughter, and, after perpetrating all Sorts of Barbarities, they exercised their Cruelties against the Edifices by setting them on Fire. This Manner of making War not having been practised in *Italy* for many Ages, filled the whole Kingdom with vast Consternation. For hitherto after a Victory, in what Manner soever gained, the Cruelty of the Conquerors

querors proceeded no farther than to strip ^{A. D.} the Soldiers, and then set them at Liberty, ^{1495.} to plunder the Places taken by Assault, and make the Inhabitants Prisoners till they had paid what Contribution was demanded ; but the Lives of those were always spared who were not killed in the Heat of the Battle. This was all the Opposition and Trouble the King of *France* met with in the Conquest of so noble and fine a Kingdom, in the Defence of which there was not the least Appearance of Virtue, Courage, Conduct, Thirst of Honour, Strength or Fidelity. The Duke of *Calabria*, who ^{Ferdinand²} after leaving *Rome* was retired from the ^{do crown^d} Frontiers of the Kingdom, and after his ^{ed.} Father's Flight had been invited to *Naples*, where he assumed the Authority and Royal Title with the usual Solemnity, tho' not with the usual Pomp and Rejoicings, mustered his Army, that consisted of Fifty Squadrons of Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, all picked Men, under the most renowned Captains in *Italy*, and made a Stand at *San Germano* to hinder the Enemy from advancing; which Place he chose for its Situation, it being on one Side

VOL. I. R covered

A. D. covered by high and rocky Mountains,
^{1495.} on the other protected by a marshy
Ground full of Water, and in Front it
had the River *Garigliano* (called *Liris* by
the Antients) tho' not deep enough in
that Place to prevent sometimes its being
waded. The Narrowness of the Passage
of *San Germano* had deservedly gained it the
Name of one of the Keys of the Kingdom
of *Naples* : From hence he sent a Body
of Troops to the Top of the Mountain to
guard the Pass of *Cancelle*. But his Army,
already frightened at the Name of the *French*
shewed no Sort of Resolution ; for some of
the Leaders were more concerned for the
Safety of their Persons and Estates, than
for that of the Kingdom, which they con-
sidered as lost, whilst others, desirous of
Novelty, began to waver, not only in
their Fidelity, but in their Courage. Nor
were they without Apprehensions that, the
whole Kingdom being in a high Ferment,
the People might make some dangerous
Commotion. Their Courage being over-
come by these abject Considerations, as
soon as *Monte San Giovanni* was taken,
hearing that Marshal *Gié* was marching to-
wards

wards them with Three Hundred Lances A. D.
 and Two Thousand Foot, they shamefully 1495.
 quitted *San Germano*, and in such Con-
 sternation, that they left on the Road Eight
 Pieces of large Cannon, and retired to
Capua.

THE new King, trusting to the Love
 which the Inhabitants of that Town
 had professed to the Family of *Aragon*, Ferdinand
 do and his
 Army in
 Capua.
 and to the Strength of the Situation, it
 being fronted by the River *Vulturno*, of a
 great Depth in that Place, hoped he should
 be able to defend it, and by keeping his
 whole Force together, without lessening
 his Army by Detachments for other
 Places, that he might be able to preserve
Naples and *Gaeta*. The *French* did not
 follow him in an united Body, but di-
 sperfed; proceeding rather as if they were
 on a Journey than a March: Every one
 straggled where he thought he could get
 most Plunder, and advanced without Co-
 lours, Order or Command; yet they kept
 so close to the Enemy, that commonly
 some of the *French* at Night took up their
 Quarters in the same Villages that had
 R 2 been

A. D. been quitted in the Morning by the *Ara-*
 1495. *gonians*.

BUT at *Capua* there was neither more Resolution, or better Fortune: For no sooner had *Ferdinando* lodged his Army there (which, since the Retreat from *San Germano*, was very much diminished) than he received Letters from the Queen, acquainting him, that the Loss of *San Germano* had occasioned such a Tumult in *Naples*, that unless he came in Person there was Danger of a Tumult. *Ferdinando*, after promising to return to *Capua* the next Day, took with him a few Friends, and rode to *Naples*, in Hopes that his Presence would be sufficient to free him from this Danger: But *Giovanni Jacopo Trivulzi*, to whom he left the Care of the City, had already underhand desired the King of *France* to send him a Herald, under whose Convoy he might approach his Majesty with Safety, on whose Arrival he, with some of the Gentry of *Capua*, went to *Calvi*, where the King was just arrived; notwithstanding that many others in the Town, who were disposed

Ferdinando goes to Naples.

disposed to preserve their Allegiance to *A. D.*
Ferdinando, with high Words opposed this ^{1494.} Procedure.

TRIVULZI came in his Armour, and being immediately introduced to his Majesty in that Array, spoke in the Name of the *Capuans* and Soldiers to this Purpose: That *Ferdinando*, whom they had ever served faithfully, whilst there were any Hopes left, not being any longer in a Condition to defend them, they were come to a Resolution to follow his Fortune, provided they were allowed honourable Conditions; adding, that he did not doubt but he should be able to bring *Ferdinando* himself to him, if he could be assured of a Reception suitable to his Dignity. The King very thankfully replied, he accepted the Offers of the *Capuans* and Soldiers, and should with Pleasure admit *Ferdinando*, provided he was apprised that he would not think of retaining any, though ever so little a Part, of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but be content with receiving States and Honours in the Kingdom of *France*.

A. D.

1495.

IT is a Matter of Speculation what should induce *Giov. Jacopo Trivulzi*, a brave Officer, and one who valued himself on being reputed a Man of Honour, to commit so great a Transgression: He himself gave out, that he had acted by *Ferdinando's* Direction, to try if he could procure some Composition of his Affairs with the *French* King. But when he found he was totally excluded from all such Hopes, and that the Defence of the Kingdom by Force of Arms was now become impracticable, it seemed to him not only lawful, but commendable to provide in Time for the Safety of the *Capuans* and Soldiers. But the common Opinion was very different: He was thought to have been desirous of a *French* Conquest, expecting, after the Reduction of *Naples*, the King would turn his Arms against the Dutchy of *Milan*: For *Trivulzi* was born of a very noble Family at *Milan*, and not thinking that *Lodovico Sforza* paid him a Regard suitable to his Merit, either on account of the immoderate Attention to those of the Family of the *San Severini*,

or

or for some other Reason, was entirely disgusted with him: And for this Reason many had suspected that, even at the Time he was with *Ferdinando* in *Romagna*, he advised him sometimes to proceed with more Caution than, perhaps, the Occasion required.

BEFORE the Return of *Trivulzi*, the King's Quarters in *Capua* had been plundered by his Soldiers, his Horses carried away, and the Men at Arms had begun to disperse themselves in different Places. *Virginio* and Count *Pitigliano*, after sending to the *French* Camp for a Pass for themselves and for their Men, retired with their Regiments to *Nola*, which Town had been given to the Count by the *Aragonians*. *Ferdinando* was returning to *Capua* at the Time promised, having for the present composed the *Neapolitans* with the Hopes he had given them of defending that City: He was already come within two Miles of *Capua*, ignorant of what had passed in his Absence, when the Citizens in general, being apprised of his Coming, took up Arms to prevent his

A. D. 1495. Entrance, and by common Consent some of the Nobility were deputed to desire him not to advance any farther, and let him know, that as himself having abandoned their City, *Trivulzi* General of his Forces being gone over to the King of *France*, his Quarters plundered by his own Soldiers, *Virginio* and Count *Pitigliano* having quitted him, and almost all his Army being dispersed, Self-preservation had put them under a Necessity of submitting to the Conqueror. *Ferdinando*, after begging in vain, with Tears in his Eyes, to be admitted, returned to *Naples*, fully persuaded the rest of the Kingdom would soon follow the Example of *Capua*, in which he was not mistaken; for *Aversa*, a City between *Capua* and *Naples*, sent immediately their Deputies to *Charles*, with whom, it was manifest, the *Neapolitans* began also to treat. Wherefore the unhappy Prince, finding it to no Purpose to oppose such an impetuous Torrent of bad Fortune, summoned several of the Nobility and of the People into the Square of *Castel Nuovo*, which was the royal Habitation, and harrangued them with these Words.

“ I

“ I APPEAL to God, and to all those ^{A. D.}
 who have had any Intimacy with me, if ^{1495.}
 the only Reason for which I desired to ascend the Throne, was not to convince the World how much I am displeased and affected with the tyrannical Government of my Father and Grand-Father, and to recover by my good Actions that Love they had lost by their severe Administration : The ill Fate of my Family has not permitted me to gather this Fruit, much more honourable than to be King : For to reign, often depends upon Fortune; but to be a King, and to have no other View in being so than the Good of the Subjects, depends only on personal Virtue. Our Affairs are now reduced into a very narrow Compass, and we have more Reason to complain that we have lost our Kingdom thro’ the Infidelity and shameful Cowardice of our Officers and Armies, than our Enemies to boast they have gained it by their own Valour; and yet I should not be destitute of Hopes, if we could make but a little Stand ; for the King of *Spain*, and all the *Italian* Princes are preparing to come powerfully to our Aid, they having now
 opened

A. D. 1495. opened their Eyes, and being convinced on what they had not before considered, that the Fire which has broke out in our Kingdom, if not extinguished in Time, will also extend to their States. For my Part I don't want Courage to terminate my Reign and Life at the same Time, with that Glory that becomes a young King, lineally descended from so long a Succession of Kings, and the Expectations you have hitherto been pleased to entertain of me. But as this cannot be attempted without exposing our common Country to very great Dangers, I am rather inclined to give Way to bad Fortune, and conceal my Courage and Ardour, than, by endeavouring to preserve the Crown, draw those Miseries on my People, to avoid which only, I desired to reign over them. I advise and intreat you to send and agree with the King of *France*; and that you may do it without any Prejudice to your Honour, I freely absolve you from your Homage, and the Oaths of Allegiance, which a few Days since you took to me: This I counsel you to do, that by your Submission and Readiness to receive him you may strive to mitigate the
the

the natural haughty Spirit of the *French*. *A. D.*
 If their barbarous Customs should render ^{1495.}
 their Government hateful, so as to make
 you wish for my Return, I shall be at
 hand to assist you, and always ready to ex-
 pose my Life in any dangerous Enterprize.
 But should you find their Administration
 mild, neither this City or Kingdom shall
 ever receive any Disturbance from me:
 The Felicity of my People will assuage my
 Sufferings, and I shall receive still a great-
 er Satisfaction if I should know you retain
 in Memory that neither as Prince or King
 I ever injured any one: That I never
 gave any Marks of Avarice or Cruelty:
 That I am not unfortunate through my
 own, but by my Ancestors Misconduct;
 That I am determined that none of my
 Subjects shall suffer for any Attempts I
 might make to preserve or recover my
 Kingdom, and that I am more affected at
 losing the Opportunity of mending the
 Faults of my Father and Grand-Father,
 than at the Loss of my Authority and Roy-
 al State. Tho' an Exile, deprived of my
 Country and Kingdom, I shall not think
 myself entirely miserable, if I knew you
 were convinced that these are my real
 Sen-

A. D. Sentiments, and were persuaded I should
1495. have followed the Example of my Great-Grandfather old *Alfonso*, and not that of *Ferdinando* and this last *Alfonso*.

THIS Speech could not fail of being heard with Compassion, and drew Tears from many. But the Name of the two last Kings was so odious to all the People and to almost all the Nobility, and so alluring the Desire of a *French* Government, that the Tumult still continued as high as ever ; and as soon as the King was retired into the Castle, the Mob began to pillage his Stables in the Square, an Indignity he could not support : Wherefore he courageously, with a few Courtiers, came out to stop them, and such was the Respect paid, tho' by a rebellious People, to the Majesty of a Royal Name, that they all desisting from their Plunder retired from the Stables ; then returning into the Castle he ordered all the Ships in the Harbour to be sunk and burnt, that they might not be of Use to the Enemy.

HE

He began by some Tokens to suspect that Five Hundred *German* Foot, who guarded the Castle, intended to make him a Prisoner; wherefore he took a sudden Resolution to make them a Present of all the Effects that were repositied therein, and whilst they were busy in dividing the Effects, having first set at Liberty all the Barons who escaped the Cruelties of his Father and Grand-father, except the Prince of *Rossano*, and Count *Pepoli*, he went out thro' the Postern, on board the light Gallies that waited for him in the Port: He was accompanied by Don *Federigo*, the old Queen Consort to his Grand-Father, *Joanna* her Daughter, and a few Domesticks, and landed in the Isle of *Ischia*, called by the Antients *Enaria*, thirty Miles from *Naples*, repeating often the Words of the Psalmist, till he lost the Sight of *Naples*, "Vain is the Watch of those who guard a City that is not guarded by God." But meeting every where with Difficulties, he was obliged at *Ischia* to make a Trial of his own Virtue, as also of the Ingratitude and Unfaithfulness which are commonly met

A. D. 1495. met with by those who suffer under the Frowns of Fortune: For the Governor of the Castle refused to admit him, unless he would come in accompanied only by one of his Followers. He agreed to it, but had no sooner entered the Gates than he seized the Governor, with such Violence, that both he and the others were so terrified at his Fierceness, and the Impression of Royal Authority, that the King soon had the Governor and Castle at his Devotion. When the News was spread of the King's Flight, every one gave way as to a most impetuous Torrent to the sole Fame of the Conqueror; and *Virginio* and Count *Pitigliano*, without any Resistance, were made Prisoners at the Place whither they had retired by Two Hundred Horse of *Ligni's* Regiment, tho' they had with them Four Hundred Men at Arms. They submitted, partly apprehending themselves comprized in the Pass which their Friends advised them to procure from the King; and partly being struck with the same Panic as the rest. They were sent Prisoners to the

the Castle of *Mondragone*, and all their Equipages and People were plundered. A. D.
1495.

IN the mean Time the *Neapolitan* Charles enters Naples. Ambassadors, sent to make a Tender of their City to the King, met him at *Aversa*. *Charles* very generously granted them many Privileges and Exemptions; and the next Day, which was the Twenty-first of *February*, he made his Entry into *Naples*, where he was received with so much Joy and Applause, that it would be in vain to attempt the Description; both Sexes, People of all Ages, Conditions and Factions, joining in their Expressions of Satisfaction, as if he had been the Father or first Founder of their City, without excepting those, who, themselves or their Ancestors, had been exalted or benefited by the *Aragonian* Family. In this joyful Manner they all accompanied him to the Cathedral, from whence, as he was not in Possession of *Castel Nuovo*, he was conducted to his Quarters in *Castel Capuano*, the old Habitation of the *French* Kings. The Rapidity and wonderful Success of this Expedition surpass-
ed

A. D. ed the Example of *Julius Cæsar*. *Charles*

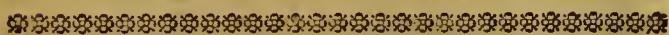
1495.

conquered before he saw, and with so much Ease, that in his whole Expedition he was under no Necessity of spreading a Tent, or breaking a Lance : Many also of his Expences proved needless, for his Fleet, which was equipped at a vast Charge, tossed about and shattered by Storms, was driven to the Isle of *Corfica*, and did not arrive on the Coasts of the Kingdom till *Charles* was Master of *Naples*. Such were the Effects of intestine Broils, which so blinded the established Wisdom of our Princes, that, with the highest Reproach and Derision of the *Italian* Soldiers, and to the very great Danger and Infamy of all, a famous and powerful Part of *Italy* was alienated from the Empire of the *Italians* to the Subjection of an *Ultramontane* Nation. For old *Ferdinando*, tho' born in *Spain*, yet as he was from his Infancy bred up in *Italy*, where he had been either King or Son of a King, and all his Children and Grand-Children, being born and educated at *Naples*, were justly deemed *Italians*.

The End of the First Book.



Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.





B O O K II.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

War of Pisa. Change of the Florentine Government. League between the Pope, Venetians, and other Princes, against the French. King's Return towards France. Battle of the Taro. Ferdinando's Return to Naples. Siege of Novara by the Confederates. Peace between Charles and the Duke of Milan. First Discovery of the French Disease in Italy.

URING these Transactions in 1495.
 Rome and the Kingdom of Naples, the Sparks of a small Fire, destined to kindle up at last a very great
S Combustion,

A. D. Combustion, to the Detriment of many,

1495.

but principally of him who, by too great a Thirst after Dominion, had raised and maintained it, diffused themselves in other Parts of *Italy*. For though it had been agreed, while the King of *France* was at *Florence*, that he should keep Possession of *Pisa* till the Acquisition of *Naples*, but that the Jurisdiction and Revenues should belong to the *Florentines*, yet, at his Departure from *Florence*, he had made no Provision, nor left any Orders for the Observation of such an Engagement. The *Pisans*, therefore, finding themselves favoured by the *French* Commissary and Garrison, and resolving never more to return under the *Florentine* Government, had turned out the Officers and all the *Florentines* that remained in the Place, imprisoned some, and seized on all their Goods and Effects, and broke out into downright Rebellion, both in Shew and Fact. Then, to confirm themselves in their Revolt, they not only sent Ambassadors to the King, after he had left *Florence*, to recommend to him the Defence of their Cause, but, resolving to use their utmost Endeavours to obtain Assistance wherever

it

Pisans
persist in
their Re-
volt.

could be had, sent, immediately on their Rebellion, others to *Siena* and *Lucca*, which Cities, being very great Enemies to the Name of the *Florentines*, were overjoyed to hear of the *Pisan* Rebellion, and therefore joined together in furnishing them with a Sum of Money, and the *Senese* immediately sent them some Horse. The *Pisans* sent Ambassadors also to *Venice*, to sound the Mind of that Senate, by whom they were favourably received, tho' they returned without Hopes of Assistance. But their greatest Expectations were from the Duke of *Milan*, not doubting but, as he had been the principal Author of their Revolt, he would be disposed to maintain it. *Lodovico*, though he pretended the contrary to the *Florentines*, secretly endeavoured to animate the *Pisans* by enticing Motives and Offers, and privately persuaded the *Genoese* to furnish the *Pisans* with Arms, and to send a Commissary to *Pisa* with Three Hundred Soldiers.

THE *Genoese*, on account of their great Enmity to the *Florentines*, which arose from the Displeasure which they con-

A. D.
1495.

Genoese
assist the
Pisans.

ceived at their Acquisition of *Pisa*, and from the Purchase which they made afterwards of the Port of *Livorno* in the Time of their Doge *Tomaso Fregoso*, and was, in the last Place, increased when the *Florentines* wrested from them *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana*, were not only prepared for such an Undertaking, but had already seized on most of the Towns which the *Florentines* possessed in the *Lunigiana*, and were now, under a Pretext of the King's Letter obtained for the Restitution of some confiscated Goods, intermeddling in the Affairs of *Pietra Santa*.

THE *Florentines* making their Complaint of these Proceedings at *Milan*, the Duke answered, that by Treaties subsisting between him and the *Genoese*, it was not in his Power to prohibit them. Yet he endeavoured to satisfy them with fair Speeches; and while he amused them with vain Hopes, ceased not to act a quite contrary Part, in Hopes that if *Pisa* was not recovered by the *Florentines*, he might easily reduce it under his own Dominion, which he most ardently desired on account of the Quality of that City, and the Com-
modiousness

of its Situation. Nor was this ambitious Desire new in him, but began as far back as when being expelled from *Milan*, soon after the Death of his Brother *Galeazzo*, out of a Jealousy which *Madonna Bona*, Mother and Tutorefs of the young Duke, entertained of him, he refided on the Borders of the *Pifan* for many Months. He had, besides this, another Motive from remembering that *Pifa*, before it fell into the Hands of the *Florentines*, had been governed by *Giovan Galeazzo Visconte*, the first Duke of *Milan*. He imagined, therefore, that it would be a glorious Atchievement to recover what had been poffeffed by his Ancestors, and he flattered himself that he could pretend fome Colour of Right, as if it had not been lawful for *Giov. Galeazzo* to bequeath by Will *Pifa*, acquired indeed by him, but at the Expence, and with the Forces of the Dutchy of *Milan*, to *Gabrielmaria*, his natural Son, in prejudice of the Dukes of *Milan* his Successors. The *Pifans*, not content with freeing their City from Subjection to the *Florentines*, were follicitous to get into their Poffeffion the Towns in the Territory of

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A. D. *Pisa*, which almost all of them, as is usual in such Cases, following the Authority of the Capital, received the *Pisan* Commissaries in the Beginning of the Rebellion, the *Florentines* at first making no Opposition, because they were employed on Affairs of greater Moment, as they had not yet compounded Matters with the King, and expected, that, after his Departure from *Florence*, he would take Care, as he had obliged himself by a public and solemn Oath, to redress these Disorders. But

The *Pisans* recover their Territory

Charles encourages the Rebellion

after they saw that he delayed the Remedy, they sent out their Troops, and partly by Force, partly by Agreement, recovered all that had been seized, except *Cascina*, *Buti*, and *Vicopisano*, into which Towns the *Pisans*, not being sufficient to make Resistance every where, had withdrawn their Forces. *Charles* inwardly was not displeased with these Proceedings of the *Pisans*, whose Cause was openly favoured by many in his Court, some induced out of Compassion, from an Impression made before on the Courtiers of their severe Treatment, and others in Opposition to the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who appeared

appeared to favour the *Florentines*. But ^{A. D.} above all the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, cor- ^{1495.}rupted with Money by the *Pisans*, but much more because he could not bear to see the exorbitant Grandeur of the Cardinal, took Occasion, according to the Changes which happen in Courts, to disagree with the Cardinal, from the same Motive which had before prompted him to promote his Interest that he might have him for an Associate in the Depression of others. This Party, not having the Regard due to the Honour and Faith of a great King, represented to him that it was more for his Advantage to keep the *Florentines* under this Distress, and to preserve the *Pisans* in their present State, at least till he had acquired the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Persuasions of those Men prevailed with him; and, pursuant to this Advice, *Charles* laboured to feed both Parties with various Hopes, and before he left *Rome* had the *Florentine* Ambassadors introduced to him, that they might hear in his Presence the Complaints which the *Pisans* had to make against them.

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Lolo's
Speech in
favour of
the *Pisans*.

BURGUNDIO LOLO, a Citizen of *Pisa*, and an Advocate of the Consistory in the Court of *Rome*, was their Orator. He most bitterly complained, “ That the *Florentines* had kept the *Pisans* in an unjust and cruel Slavery for Eighty Years : That their City, which with many glorious Victories had extended its Empire as far as the Eastern Parts, and had been one of the most powerful and magnificent Cities in all *Italy*, was now by the Cruelty and Avarice of the *Florentines* reduced to the utmost Desolation : That it was almost destitute of Inhabitants, because the greater Part of the Citizens, not being able to bear so heavy a Yoke, had, of their own Accord, abandoned *Pisa* ; and that they had taken the most prudent Resolution, was demonstrated by the Miseries of those whom Love to their native Country had kept at Home : That by the heavy public Taxes, and the private Extortions of the *Florentines*, they were spoiled of almost all their Substance, and had no Way to support themselves, because, by an unparalleled Inhumanity and Injustice, they had been prohibited to exercise

ercise Merchandising, or Arts of any Kind ^{A. D.} except mechanic, and were excluded ^{1495.} from all Posts and Offices in the *Florentine* Dominions, even those into which Strangers were admitted: That their Oppressors were determined to destroy their Name, and extirpate their Race from the Face of the Earth: To compass which they had purposely omitted keeping up the Dikes, and cleansing the Ditches in their Territory; a Thing ever carefully attended to when they were their own Masters, as it would have been otherwise impossible to have prevented every Year that raging Sickness with which they are now afflicted, the Ground lying low, and subject to frequent Inundations. This Manner of Governing had occasioned in all Parts the Ruin of beautiful Churches, Palaces, and private and public Edifices, erected by their Ancestors with Magnificence and vast Cost: That it was no Disgrace to ancient and renowned Cities, if after a Series of many Ages they fell at last into Slavery; for it was by Fate ordained that all Things in this World should suffer Change: Therefore the Remembrance
of

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of their Nobility and Grandeur ought rather to have excited the Compassion than the Rage of their Conquerors, especially as every one ought to reflect, that the same ill Fortune may, nay must some time or other, bring all Cities and Empires to an End. But the *Florentines*, far from acting on such Principles, have so inhumanly harassed the *Pisans*, that, not able any longer to bear so heavy a Yoke, they are determined to a Man to quit their Country, or lay down their Lives, sooner than return under so iniquitous, so impious a Government. He then desired with Tears (which he begged his Majesty would look on as the Tears of all the *Pisans* poured out in Floods) humbly prostrated at his Feet, that he would recollect with how much Piety and Justice he had restored the *Pisans* to their Liberty, so long unjustly invaded ; and that, as became a resolute and magnanimous Prince, he would preserve the invaluable Benefit he had procured, and chuse rather the Name of Father and Redemer of their City, than, by delivering them up to a detested Slavery, that of Minister of the Rapaciousness and Cruelty of the *Florentines*.

To

To this Accusation *Francesco Soderini*, then Bishop of *Volterra*, and afterwards Cardinal, one of the *Florentine* Ambassadors, replied with no less Vehemence, and endeavoured to prove, That the Title of the *Florentines* to *Pisa* was good and legal: He said, they had purchased it, in the Year 1404, of *Gabriello Maria Visconti*, the then lawful Possessor: That the *Florentines* had no sooner taken Possession, than the *Pisans* by Violence expelled them, and put them under the Necessity of undertaking a long War, the End of which proved as successful as the Cause was just, nor less glorious to the *Florentines* for their Mildness than Victory: For when it was in their Power to let them perish with Hunger, their Troops entered the Town more loaded with Provisions than Arms: That the *Pisans* had never made any great Figure on the Continent; They had not been able to conquer even the petty State of *Lucca*, which lay so near them, but were always straitened within a very narrow Compass of Land. As for their maritime Power, it had been of no Duration; For by divine Justice

Answer of
the *Floren-
tine* Am-
bassador.

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Justice, inflicted on them for their manifold Sins, infamous Deeds, and continued intestine Divisions, long before *Pisa* was bought by the *Florentines*, it was fallen from its Grandeur and Riches, depopulated, and become so weak, that one *Jacopo Appiano*, a mean Scrivener of the Territory of *Pisa*, had found Means to make himself Lord of it; and, after enjoying for several Years an absolute Dominion, left it as an Inheritance to his Children: That very little Advantage accrued to the Republic from that City, which was only convenient, as being near the Sea; for the Revenues were inconsiderable, and the Customs so small and trifling, that they hardly exceeded the necessary Expences; and the most that was collected was from foreign Traders, and by the Advantage of the Port of *Livorno*: Nor were the Citizens of *Pisa* excluded from Trade, civil Arts, or Employments more than any of the Inhabitants of the other Cities of their Dominion, who thought themselves happy under a moderate and mild Government, and desired not to change Masters, because they had not the Arrogance and
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the Obstinacy so natural to the *Pisans*, that their Perfidiousness was become a standing Proverb all over *Tuscany*. If, after they were conquered, many voluntarily and hastily abandoned their Country, that must be attributed to their Pride, which would not permit them to accommodate their Spirits to their Strength and their Fortune, and not to the Administration, which was ever just and mild : Nor was *Pisa*, under the *Florentines*, diminished in Riches or Inhabitants : On the contrary, the Republic had, at a vast Expence, regained the Port of *Livorno*, without which that City would have been deprived of all Conveniences and Emoluments ; and by making *Pisa* an University for the public Study of all the Sciences, by continually taking Care of the Ditches, and by many other Ways endeavoured to increase the Inhabitants. The Truth of this was so notorious that no false Complaints or Calumnies were capable of obscuring it. None found Fault with any one for desiring to mend his Fortune ; but then it was the Duty of every one to bear with Patience what his Fate had allotted him: Otherwise all Sovereign-

ties

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A. D. ties and Empires would be thrown into
 1495. Confusion, by making it lawful for every
 Subject to endeavour to set himself free.
 The *Florentines*, he said, did not think it
 necessary to take the Pains to direct *Charles*
 the most Christian King of *France* how to
 act according to his Duty in this Affair, for
 they assured themselves, from his consum-
 mate Wisdom and Justice, that he would
 not suffer himself to be influenced by such
 vain Complaints and Calumnies, but would
 put himself in Mind of what he had pro-
 mised before his Army was received into
Pisa, and what he had so solemnly sworn
 in *Florence*, considering that the greater
 and more powerful a King is, the more
 glorious it will be for him to employ his
 Power for the Preservation of Faith and
 Justice.

King of *France* fa-
 vours the
Pisans. It was manifest that *Charles* lent a more
 favourable Ear to the *Pisans*, and for their
 Benefit desired that there should be either
 a Suspension of Arms till the *Neapolitan*
 War was finished, or that till such Time the
Florentines would consent to have all the
Pisan Territory put into his Hands, assur-
 ing

ing them that, as soon as he was possesst of *A. D.*
Naples, he would without Delay execute ^{1495.}
 all he had stipulated at *Florence*. But the
Florentines, who now distrusted every
 Thing the King said, constantly re-
 fused both these Expedients, and insisted
 with great Earnestness on the Perfor-
 mance of his Promises.

CHARLES, to make a Shew as if he de-
 signed to content them, but with a real In-
 tent to get out of them Seventy Thousand
 Ducats before the due Time of Payment,
 when he departed from *Rome*, sent the
 Cardinal of *St. Malo* to *Florence*, pretend-
 ing to the *Florentines* that he had given
 him a Commission to grant Satisfaction for
 their Demands, but gave him private In-
 structions to feed them with Hopes till he
 had got the Money, and then at last
 to leave Things in the same Situation as he
 found them. The *Florentines*, tho' strong-
 ly suspicious of the *French*, yet paid Forty
 Thousand Ducats, of which the Term of
 Payment was nearly expired; and the
 Cardinal, as soon as he had received the
 Money, went to *Pisa*, promising to restore
 to

A. D. 1495. to the *Florentines* the Possession of that City, but returned without Effect, alledging for his Excuse that he had found the *Pisans* so obstinate that his Authority was not sufficient to dispose them, and he had no Power to constrain them, because he had received no such Commission from the King, and that it did no way become him, who was a Priest, to take any Resolution from which might result an Effusion of Christian Blood. He took Care, however, to put fresh Troops into the new Citadel, and would have done the same in the old Citadel, had the *Pisans* consented to it. The Spirits and Forces of these People increased every Day, for the Duke of *Milan* judging it necessary that there should be a larger Garrison in *Pisa*, and a Commander of some Experience and Valour, sent thither *Lucio Malvezzo* with a Reinforcement of Troops, though with his usual Arts covering himself with the Name of the *Genoese*: And embracing all Occasions of fomenting the Troubles of the *Florentines*, that it might be more difficult for them to attack the *Pisans*, he joined with the *Senese* in hiring *Jacopo d'Appiano*

Lodovico
sends
Forces to
Pisa.

d'Appiano Lord of *Piombino*, and *Giovanni Savello* to give them Courage for maintaining *Montepulciano*, which Town having lately revolted from the *Florentines* to the *Senese* was received by them without any Regard to the Confederacy subsisting between the two Commonwealths.

AT this Juncture the *Florentines* were under no less Anxiety and Concern on account of their intestine Commotions. For, in order to settle the Government of the Republic on a new Foundation; they had, immediately after the Departure of the King from *Florence*, held a Parliament, which, according to their antient Custom, is an Assembly of the whole Body of the Citizens, in the Square of the public Palace, where every one freely and openly spoke his Sentiments on Matters proposed by the chief Magistrates, and had constituted a Kind of Polity which, under the Name of popular Government, tended in many Respects rather to put the Power in the Hands of a Few than to leave it free for universal Participation. This creating Uneasiness in many of the Citizens, who

The *Florentines* uneasy under their Form of Government.

A. D. had proposed to themselves a greater Latitude, and the private Ambition of some of the principal Citizens concurring in the same View, it had been necessary to enter on a new Debate concerning the Form of Government; on which as the principal Magistrates, and most creditable Persons were one Day consulting, *Pagol' Antonio Soderini*, a knowing and very reputable Citizen, made a Speech, as we have heard, in Substance as follows.

*Soderini's
Speech
before the
Magistra-
cy of Flo-
rence.*

“ It would certainly be very easy, most worthy Citizens, to demonstrate that the Writers on civil Affairs have not been so free of their Praises on a popular Government as on that of a single Prince, or one under the Administration of the Nobles: Yet as the Desire of Liberty is of long standing, and in a manner natural in this City, and the Conditions of the Citizens suited to Equality, a very necessary Foundation of popular Governments, it ought, doubtless, to be preferred by us before all others. But this Dispute might seem superfluous, since, in all the Consultations that have been held for some Days past,

it

it has been always determined, by universal Consent, that the City should be governed in the Name and by the Authority of the People. But the Diversity of Opinions arises from hence, that some Persons would freely accede in the Regulation of the Parliament to those Forms of a Republic by which this City was governed before its Liberty was oppressed by the Family of the *Medici*; others, of which Number I confess myself to be one, judging that a Government so regulated has in many Respects rather the Name than the Effects of a popular Government, and apprehensive of the Accidents which have frequently resulted from the like Governments, desire a more perfect Form, and such as is adapted to preserve the Harmony and Security of the Citizens; Blessings which neither Reason, nor Experience of Times past will suffer us to expect in this City, unless under a Government entirely depending on the Power of the People; but that Power must be reduced under due Order and Regulation, which consists principally in two fundamental Points: The first is, that all Places of Honour and

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Profit,

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Profit, both in the City and throughout its Dominions, be from Time to Time bestowed by a general Council of all those who are by our Laws qualified for a Share in the Government ; and no new Laws to pass without the Approbation of this Council. Hence, as it will not be in the Power of private Citizens, or any particular Conspiracy, or secret Intelligence, to bestow Places of Dignity and Authority, so none will be excluded from them by the Passions, or at the Pleasure of others, but they will be distributed according to the good Qualities and Deserts of Men ; whence it will be the Care of every one, by Virtue and good Manners, and by rendering himself useful both in a public and private Capacity, to open himself a Way to Honours ; as, on the other hand, every Person will think himself obliged to abstain from Vices, and doing Mischief to others, and, in short, from all such Actions as will render him odious in a well regulated City ; nor will it be in the Power of One or a Few, by new Laws, and with the Authority of the Magistracy, to introduce another Government, because he can make

no Alteration in the present without the *A. D.*
 Consent of the Universal Council.----The ^{1495.}
 second fundamental Point is, that Resolutions of Importance, that is, such as concern Peace or War, the Examination of new Laws, and, in general, all Things necessary to the Administration of such a City and Dominion, be debated by Magistrates particularly appointed to those Charges, and by a more select Council of prudent and experienced Citizens, deputed by the popular Council. For the Knowledge of State Affairs not falling within the Capacity of every one's Understanding, it is necessary that they should be managed by such as are equal to the Charge. Besides, such Matters often require Dispatch and Secrecy, and therefore cannot come under the Consultations or Resolutions of the Multitude. Nor is it necessary for the Preservation of Liberty that such Affairs should be debated in very large Assemblies; for Liberty remains secure while the Distribution of Offices, and enacting new Laws depend on universal Consent. Provision then being made with relation to these two Points, the Government becomes

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truly popular, the Liberty of the City well founded, and the laudable Form of the Republic fixed and durable. There are, indeed, many other Requisites which tend to make the Government of which we have been speaking more perfect, but may more properly be deferred till another Opportunity, that we may avoid too much perplexing at first the Minds of Men still labouring under Doubts and Jealousies from the Memory of the late Tyranny, and who, not being accustomed to debate on free Governments, cannot thoroughly understand what Resolutions it may be necessary to take for the Preservation of Liberty. There are also some Particulars, which being of less Moment may safely be deferred to a more convenient Season, and a more favourable Opportunity. The Citizens will be more and more in Love with this Form of a Republic, and being by every Day's Experience rendered more capable of knowing the Truth will desire to have the Government continually polished, and brought to entire Perfection. In the mean time it will support itself by the two fundamental Props aforesaid ;
and

and how easily these may be provided, and the Advantages they will produce, is not only demonstrable by many Reasons, but will appear most evidently by Example. For as to the Government of the *Venetians*, though it belongs only to the Nobles, yet these Nobles are no other than private Citizens, and are so numerous, and of such different Qualities and Conditions, that it cannot be denied to partake in a great measure of a popular Form of Administration, and that it may in many Particulars be imitated by us: And yet it is founded chiefly on those two Bases, on which that Republic has for so many Ages preserved, together with its Liberties, Union, and civil Concord, and is advanced to so great a Height of Glory and Grandeur. Nor has the Union of the *Venetians* proceeded from their Situation, as many imagine; for in that Situation may possibly arise, and sometimes have actually arisen, Contentions and Seditions; but a Form of Government so well modelled, and so well proportioned in all its Parts, could never fail of producing such precious and admirable Effects. Neither ought we to be

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A. D. less moved by our own than by foreign

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Examples, but then we are to consider them in a contrary Light, for our City had never a Form of Government like to this, which has been the Cause that our Constitution has been always subject to frequent Changes, sometimes trampled on by the Violence of Tyrannies, at others suffering terrible Breaches from the ambitious and covetous Contentions of a Few, and sometimes shaken and endangered by the unbridled Licentiousness of the Multitude. And whereas Cities were built for the Quiet, and happy Living of the Inhabitants, the Fruits of our Governments, our Happiness, our Repose, have been Confiscations of Goods, Banishments, and Beheadings of our miserable Citizens. The Regulations introduced into the Parliament differ not from those of former Times in this City, which produced nothing but Contentions and Calamities, and after infinite Vexations, both public and private, at last ended in Tyrannies. These and no other were the Causes that of old moved the Duke of *Athens* to oppress the Liberty of our Ancestors; encouraged by these alone

alone *Cosimo de' Medici*, in later Times, A. D.
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 subverted our Freedom. Nor does it deserve our Wonder, for when the Disposal of Offices, and the Enacting of Laws are daily transacted without Need of the common Consent, but depend on the Will of a lesser Number, the Citizens, in such a Situation, will be no longer intent on promoting the Good of the Public, but to gratify their Desires and private Ends, Parties will arise and particular Combinations, followed by Divisions of the whole City, the Plague and most certain Destruction of all Republics and Empires. How much more prudent then is it to avoid those Forms of Governments which, from Reason and Example among ourselves, we may be assured are pernicious, and to embrace such as, by Reason and Example of others, we may be satisfied are salutary and happy! For the meer Force of Truth obliges me to say that, in our City, a Government, constituted in such a Manner as that a few Citizens shall be invested with an immoderate Authority, will be a Government of a few Tyrants, who will be so much more pernicious than a single Tyrant,

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Tyrant, as an Evil becomes greater and does more Mischief the more it is multiplied. And, if there were no other Causes, the Difference of Opinions, with the Ambition and various Desires of Men, would not afford any Hopes of a lasting Agreement; and Discord, which is highly pernicious at all Times, would be more so in the present Juncture, when you have sent into Exile so powerful a Citizen, are deprived of so important a Part of your State, and when all *Italy* is in the greatest Danger from a foreign Army within its Bowels. It has been very rarely, and perhaps never absolutely in the Power of the whole City to regulate itself according to its Discretion; but since by the divine Favour you have Power now put into your Hands, Heaven grant that you may not, to your own infinite Prejudice, and to the eternal Disgrace of the *Florentine* Prudence, lose the Opportunity of laying the Foundation of a free Government, so well regulated, as not only to render yourselves happy while it lasts, but to promise you its Perpetuity, and to leave for an Inheritance to your Children and Posterity such a Treasure,

sure, and such a Happiness, as neither you ^{A. D.} nor your Progenitors ever possessed or ^{1495.} knew." Such was the Speech of *Pagol' Antonio*, to which *Guid' Antonio Vespucci*, a famous Lawyer, and a Man of bright Parts, and of singular Dexterity, made the following Reply :

" If a Government, most worthy Citizens, modelled according to the Form proposed by *Pagol' Antonio Soderini*, could produce the desired Effects with the same Ease as is delineated, he must certainly be a Man of a very corrupt Taste, who should desire any other Government in our Country ; he would be a very bad Citizen, who was not ardently in Love with the Form of a Republic, in which Virtue, Merit, and Worth were the chief Recommendations to Notice and Honour. But I cannot comprehend what Grounds we have to hope that a Government wholly placed in the People will produce such great Benefits. I know well what Reason teaches, what Experience shews, and what the Authority of able Men confirms, that in so great a Multitude there are not to be found that

Answer of
Guid' Antonio Vespucci.

A. D. that Prudence, that Experience, and that
 1495. Order from which we can promise ourselves that the Knowing shall be preferred to the Ignorant, good Men to bad, Men of Experience to such as never had the Management of any Business. For as from a Judge of no Skill or Capacity we can expect no righteous Sentence, so from a People full of Confusion and Ignorance cannot be hoped, unless it be by Chance, any prudent or reasonable Choice or Resolution. And can we believe that in public Governments what can hardly be discerned by wise Men, who mind no other Business, should be known and distinguished by an unskilful and unexperienced Multitude, composed of Persons of so great a Variety of Talents, Conditions and Customs, and Men wholly taken up with the Business of their particular Callings? Not to mention that the immoderate Conceit which every one will have of himself, will excite them all to the Desire of Honours. Nor will Men be content in a popular Government with acquiring the honourable Benefits of Liberty, but will all aspire to the principal Degrees, and to intermeddle
 in

in Debates on Affairs of the highest Importance and Difficulty. For the Modesty of giving Place to one who has more Knowledge, or more Merit, reigns less among us than in any other City ; but persuading ourselves that of Right we ought all to be on a Level in every Respect, the Posts of Virtue and Worth, if left in the Power of the Multitude, will be confounded ; and this ambitious Desire, diffusing itself thro' the greater Part, will put more Power into the Hands of the less knowing and less deserving, for being many more in Number, they will have the greatest Power in a State constituted in such a Manner that Opinions are counted not weighed. What Security then will you have that, content with the Form that you would introduce at present, they will not quickly confound the Schemes, so wisely projected, by new Inventions, and imprudent Laws ? Wise Men in such a Case have no Power to resist, and those Accidents are at all Times dangerous in such a Government, but will be much more so now, because it is the Nature of Men when they part from one Extreme, in which they have been held by Violence,

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Violence, to ruin wilfully to the other Extreme, without stopping in the Middle. Thus he who gets free from a Tyranny runs head-long, if not stopped, into an unbridled Licentiousness, which may also justly be called a Tyranny; because a People too resembles a Tyrant, when it gives to the Undeserving; and takes away from the Meritorious; when it confounds Degrees and Distinctions of Persons: And its Tyranny is perhaps the more pestiferous, in proportion as Ignorance is the more dangerous, as it has neither Weight, nor Measure, nor Laws, than Malignity, which at worst is directed by some Regard, is restrained by some Bridle, and confined within some Bounds. Let not the Example of the *Venetians* move you, for, as to them, their Situation is of some Moment, and the inveterate Form of their Government is of great Weight; and Affairs there are regulated in such a Manner, as that the important Resolutions are more in the Power of Few than of Many; besides, their Parts not being by Nature perhaps so acute as those of our People, they are much easier to be quieted and contented. Nor is the
Venetian

Venetian Administration directed only under the Influence of those two fundamental Points which have been considered, but a perpetual Doge, and many other Regulations, greatly contribute towards its Perfection and Stability; whereas if any one should attempt to introduce such Regulations into this Republic, he would meet infinite Contradictions, because our City is not just now founded, nor is this the first Time of her Institution, and therefore inveterate Habits being often repugnant to the public Welfare, and Men suspecting that, under a Colour of preserving Liberty, some would seek to erect a new Tyranny, they are not easily disposed to receive Benefit from wholesome Advice: Thus in a Body infected and over-run with corrupt Humours, Medicines have not that kindly Effect which they operate on Bodies cleansed from those noxious Juices. From these Causes, and from the Nature of human Affairs, which commonly decline and alter for the worse, it is more to be feared that those imperfect Regulations, with which you propose to begin, will in Process of Time be intirely disordered, than to be hoped that either by Time or Opportunities

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But have we not Examples of our own, without seeking them from others? Was ever this City under the absolute Government of the People without being full of Divisions, without being shaken in every Part, and falling into Factions, which have at last made Way for a sudden Revolution in the State? And if we must needs look out for foreign Examples, why should we not remember that a Government wholly popular was the Cause of so many Tumults in *Rome*, that, had it not been for the military Skill, and Love of Arms, the Life of that Republic would have been but of a short Date? Why can't we put ourselves in Mind that *Athens*, a most flourishing and most powerful City, lost its Empire, and afterwards fell under Slavery to its own Citizens and to Foreigners, by no other Means than by managing the weighty Matters of State according to the Resolutions of the Multitude? But I see no Reason why it should be said that, in the Method already introduced into the Parliament, Liberty is not preserved intire: For all Affairs are referred to the Disposition of the Magistrates, who are not perpetual,
but

but changed, nor elected by Few, a but, be-
 ing approved by many, have, according to ^{A. D.}
 the antient Custom of the City, their E-^{1495.}
 lection determined by Lot. How then
 can they be appointed by Factions, or at
 the Will of particular Citizens? We shall
 have a much greater Certainty that the
 most important Affairs will be examined
 and directed by the most knowing, most
 experienced, and the gravest Persons, who
 will manage them with an Order, Secrecy
 and Maturity quite different from those of
 the People, who are incapable of such
 Matters, and are sometimes most profuse
 in Expences where there is the least Need,
 and at other Times, when there is the
 greatest Necessity, so close and niggardly, as
 oftentimes, for the Sake of saving a very
 small Sum, to run themselves into vast Ex-
 pences, and Dangers. The Weakness of
Italy, and in particular of our own Coun-
 try, are, as *Pagol' Antonio* has observed,
 highly worth our Concern. How im-
 prudent then would it be for us, when we
 have Need of the most skilful and ex-
 periented Physicians, to put ourselves into
 the Hands of those who have least Skill

A. D. and Experience! It is your Duty to consider, in the last Place, that you will keep your People in greater Quietness, and more easily induce them to take such Resolutions as are beneficial to themselves, and to every Individual, by giving them a moderate Share of Power and Authority; for, by referring every thing absolutely to their Disposal, there will be Danger of their becoming insolent, and too difficult and refractory to the Counsels of your knowing and well disposed Citizens."

Savonarola a preaching Friar.

In this Consultation, at which attended no extraordinary Number of Citizens, the Opinion of those who were for entrusting the Power of the Government in fewer Hands would have prevailed, if human Counsels had not been over-ruled by the Interposition of divine Authority from the Mouth of *Girolamo Savonarola* of *Ferrara*, a Friar of the Order of Predicants. This Man, having for many Years together expounded the Word of God in public at *Florence*, and, besides his singular Learning, acquired a vast Reputation for Sanctity, had obtained with the greater Part of the People

People the Name and Credit of a Prophet. *A. D.*
 For, at the Time when in *Italy* no other *1495.*
 Sign appeared but of the greatest Tran-
 quillity, he had often predicted in his Ser-
 mons the marching of foreign Armies into
Italy, which would so terrify the People,
 that neither Walls nor Armies would be
 able to resist their Power; protesting that
 what he said, and many other Things
 which he was continually foretelling, was
 not by human Argumentation, nor by
 Knowledge of the Scriptures, but merely
 by Divine Revelation. He had also given
 some Hints of the Change of the *Floren-*
tine Government, and at this Juncture,
 publicly inveighing against the Form settled
 in the Parliament, affirmed it was the
 Will of God that a Government entirely
 popular should be established in such a
 Manner, as not to leave it in the Power of
 a few Citizens to alter either the Security
 or the Liberty of the rest. The Re-
 verence which was paid to so great a Name,
 joined to the Desires of Multitudes, had
 such an Influence, that those who were of
 different Sentiments could by no means re-
 sist so violent an Inclination: And, there-
 fore,

A. D. fore, after this Affair had been debated in
^{1495.} several Consultations, it was finally determined that a Council should be formed of the whole Body of the Citizens, not admitting the Dregs of the Commonalty, as it was reported in many Parts of *Italy*, but only those who, according to the antient Laws of the City, were qualified to participate of the Government. This Council was to have nothing under their Consultation or Disposition but the Election of all the Magistrates for the City and its Dominions, passing the Bills for raising Money, together with all the Laws before prepared by the Magistrates and other more private Councils. And to remove all Occasions of civil Discord, and for the better securing every one from Apprehensions, following the Example of the *Athenians*, it was by a public Edict prohibited to take any Notice of past Offences or Misdemeanors committed with relation to State Affairs. On this Basis, perhaps, might have been erected a well regulated and solid Constitution, if at the same time all those Regulations, which wise and prudent Men even then foresaw
would

would have been necessary, had been introduced. But as this could not be effected ^{A. D. 1495.} without the Consent of many who, remembering Things past, were full of Suspicions, it was agreed, for the present, only to settle the Grand Council, as the Bulwark of their new Liberty; and put off what was wanting to some other Opportunity, when what was necessary for the public Welfare would by Experience become known to those who were now incapable of discerning it by Reason and Judgment.

SUCH were the Broils in the Affairs of *Tuscany*. But in the mean time the King ^{Charles continues to reduce the Kingdom of Naples.} of *France*, after the Acquisition of *Naples*, to compleat his Victory, applied himself principally to two Things: One was the Reduction of its two Castles *Nuovo* and *dell' Uovo*; for the Tower of *San Vicentio*, built to guard the Port, he had already taken with Ease; the other, to reduce to his Obedience the Remainder of the Kingdom. In compassing this, Fortune accompanied him with her usual Favours; for *Castel Nuovo*, the Habitation of the

A. D.

1495.

Neapolitan Kings, situated on the Sea Shore, by the Baseness and Avarice of Five Hundred *Germans* in Garrison, after a slender Resistance, surrendered, on their being permitted to retire safe, and loaded with what Treasure they could carry away*. Great Plenty of Provisions was found in the Castle, which *Charles* inconsiderately distributed amongst some of his People, without reflecting what might be the Consequence.

CASTEL dell' *Uovo* is founded on a Rock in the Sea, formerly joined to the Land, till separated by *Lucullus*, and is now united to the Shore by a narrow Bridge. It lies at so small a Distance from the Town, that the Artillery might play upon it, and damage the Walls, but could not make any Impression on the Rock; however, after a few Days Siege, the Garrison agreed to surrender, if not succoured in eight Days: And the Officers and Men at Arms, who were going to subdue the rest of the Kingdom, were met by

The
Kingdom
of *Naples*
reduced
by the
French.

* *Giovio* writes that the royal Treasure, carried away by the *Germans*, exceeded the Value of a Million of Golden Ducats.

by the Barons and Deputies of the Towns several Days before they could have reached them all, contending who should be first to receive them. This remarkable Readiness, whether it proceeded from Inclination or Fear, it had this Effect, that the Governors of most of the Fortresses gave them up without Resistance, and the Citadel of *Gaeta*, though well provided with all Necessaries, after a weak Defence, surrendered at Discretion; so that in a very few Days, with a wonderful Facility, *Charles* made himself Master of the whole Kingdom, excepting the Isle of *Ischia*, the Citadels of *Brindisi* and *Galipoli*, in the Province of *Puglia*; and, in *Calabria*, the Citadel of *Reggio*, situated on that Point of *Italy* which faces *Sicily*. But the City of *Reggio* submitted to *Charles*, and *Turpia* and *Mantia* erected at first the *French* Standard, but the Inhabitants of these two last Places, on being apprised that their Towns were disposed of to Favourites, revolted again to their former Lord, being determined not to subject themselves to any one under the King. Their Example was soon followed by the

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Town of *Brindisi*, whither *Charles* had sent no Troops, because the King, out of Negligence, had paid no Regard to their Deputies whom they had sent to *Naples* to capitulate, for he neither dispatched them, nor would hardly give them a Hearing. This Treatment gave an Opportunity to those who held out for *Ferdinando* in the Forts, to bring that City back to the Devotion of the *Aragonians*, by voluntary Consent of the Citizens. Those of *Otranto* also, who had declared for *France*, none repairing to receive them, did not continue in the same Disposition. But all the Barons and great Men of the Kingdom came to pay their Homage to their new Sovereign, excepting two or three, who retired into *Sicily*, after their Estates had been confiscated and given away by *Charles*, and *Alfonso Davalo*, Marquis of *Pescara*, left Governor of *Castel Nuovo*, who followed *Ferdinando*, as soon as he discovered the treacherous Designs of the *Germans*, to surrender the Castle.

Charles

treats with

*Federigo,**Ferdinan-**do's* Uncle.

CHARLES, to secure this vast Acquisition by way of Treaty, before taking *Castel*

Nuovo

Nuovo, had sent a Pass to Don *Federigo*,
 in order to have a Conference with him. A. D.
1495.

Federigo had resided in *France*, in the Reign of *Lewis XI.* for several Years, and, for his Affinity to the Royal Family, was very agreeable to the *French* Court, *Charles* intimated to him that if *Ferdinando* would give up what remained unconquered, he would grant him such Revenues in *France*, as might prove a sufficient Recompence for what he still preserved. But *Federigo*, being apprised of his Nephew's Intentions not to accept of any Terms, but such as would constitute him intire Master of *Calabria*, very calmly replied, Since God, Fortune, and the Will of all the People, had concurred to bestow on his most Christian Majesty the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinando* would not resist this fatal Disposition, nor be any ways ashamed to submit to so great and mighty a Prince, but, like the rest, be under his Obedience, and at his Devotion, provided some Part of the Kingdom, hinting at *Calabria*, was assigned him: If this was granted, he should there pass his Days, not as King, but as
 one

A. D.

1495.

one of his Barons, and adore the Clemency and Generosity of a Monarch in whose Service, some time or other, he hoped to have an Opportunity of shewing that Resolution which his ill Fortune had not permitted him to exercise in his own Behalf. He observed that nothing could be more glorious than such a Concession: It would be parallel to the memorable Deeds of the ancient Heroes, who, by such noble Acts of Resignation, had rendered their Fame immortal, and obtained from the People divine Honours. A Counsel not less safe than honourable: For, after *Ferdinando's* Submission, the Kingdom would be settled without any Danger of a Change of Fortune, whose Property it is, wherever Victories are not secured by Moderation and Prudence, to stain and obscure, by some unforeseen Accident, the Glory of the Conqueror. But *Charles*, judging it by no means adviseable to give up to his Competitor any Part that might endanger the rest, *Federigo* was dismissed without coming to any Agreement.

WHEN

WHEN *Ferdinando* heard of the Surrender of the Castles, he left the Care of the Citadel of *Ischia* to *Inico Davalo*, who, as well as his Brother *Alfonso*, was an Officer of Valour and uncorrupt Fidelity, and retired into *Sicily* with the fourteen ill-armed light Gallies he had taken with him from *Naples*, to be there at hand on any Occasion. *Charles*, in order to deprive his Enemies of a Receptacle from whence they might conveniently annoy the Kingdom, sent to *Ischia* the Fleet, which by this Time was arrived in the Port of *Naples*. The Town was abandoned on their Appearance, but it was not thought proper to attack the Fort, that being too well fortified. This put the King on sending for other Vessels from *Provence* and *Genoa*, for taking of *Ischia*, and securing the Seas, which were sometimes infested by *Ferdinando*. But neither Diligence nor Counsel were equal to Fortune ; for he shewed great Coolness, Negligence and Confusion in all his Actions, and the *French* were become more insolent than usual by so much Prosperity, and, giving themselves

up

A. D. up to Feasting and Pleasures, left to Chance
 1495. Matters of the greatest Moment, whilst
 those who were in Favour attended to nothing else but to obtain, privately of the King, what Advantage they could make of the Victory, without any Regard to the Dignity or Interest of their Prince.

Gemin's
Death.

ABOUT this Time died at *Naples Gemin* the *Ottoman*, to the great Concern of the King, who expected he would have been very useful in the War he intended to make upon the *Turks*. It was firmly believed that his Death proceeded from a slow Poison, given him by the Pope, which was to destroy him in a determinate Time, because he had in a manner been forced from him, by which he was deprived of the yearly Pension of Forty Thousand Ducats paid him by his Brother *Bajazet*. Thus he gratified his Revenge, by hindering others from reaping that Profit of which they had deprived him, or was mov'd by Envy to the Glory of *Charles*, and perhaps feared that, if he prospered against the Infidels, he would turn his Thoughts, as many, out of private Interest, were continually stimulating him
 on

on reforming the Church, which was so
 totally degenerated from the ancient Cus-
 toms, that the Authority of the Christian
 Religion daily declined, and every one
 expected it would do so more and more
 during this Pontificate, acquired by very
 bad Arts, and administred by worse per-
 haps than were ever known in the Memo-
 ry of Man. Nor were there wanting those
 who believed (for the very corrupt Dispo-
 sition of this Pope made the greatest Ini-
 quities credible) that *Bajazet*, on hearing
 of the King of *France's* Expedition into
Italy, had with a large Sum of Money
 bribed *Alexander*, by the Means of *Bucci-*
ardo, to put *Gemin* to Death. But *Charles*
 did not for this give over the Thoughts of
 his *Turkish* Enterprize, but, with more
 Heat, than Prudence or Counsel, sent in-
 to *Greece* the Archbishop of *Durazzo*, a
 Native of *Albania*, who had given him
 Hopes, through his Interest, with some
 Exiles, to create Commotions in that Pro-
 vince. However, new Incidents obliged
 him to turn his Mind on other Objects.
 It has been already said that an eager De-
 sire of usurping the Dutchy of *Milan*, to-
 gether

A. D.
1495.

Lodovico
alarmed at
Charles's
Progress.

A. D.
1495.

gether with the Fear of *Piero de' Medici* and the *Aragonians*, induced *Lodovico* to procure this Invasion of the *French*. But after obtaining his ambitious Desires by their Coming, and seeing the *Aragonians* so reduced as to be hardly in a Condition to keep their Persons out of the Enemy's Power, he was seized with a second Fear, much stronger and juster than the former, which was the imminent Slavery of himself and all the *Italians*, in case the Kingdom of *Naples* should be added to the Power of *France*. He was in Hopes the King would have met with more Difficulties in the *Florentine* State, but observing how easily he had allied with that Republic, and with the same Facility had overcome the Opposition made by the Pope, and entered the Kingdom of *Naples* without any Obstacle, he thought his Danger daily increased in proportion to the great Progress that the King made.

Also the
Venetians.

THE same Terror began also to seize the Minds of the *Venetians*, who had hitherto kept steady to their first Resolution of being neuter, and with great Circumspecti-
on

on had abstained not only from acting, but from all Appearances which might render them suspected of any Inclination to favour one Side more than the other. For this Reason they had not appointed their Ambassadors *Loredano* and *Domenico Trevisano* to compliment the King till he had passed the *Alps*, and then detained them till he was arrived at *Florence*. But now, alarmed at this Torrent of Prosperity, and seeing the King like Lightning make his Way through all *Italy* without Resistance, they began to consider their Neighbours Danger as their own, and that their Ruin would quickly be followed by that of their Republic. His seizing on *Pisa*, with other Castles of the *Florentines*, and leaving a Garrison in *Siena*, and in the Towns of the Ecclesiastical State, were shrewd Tokens that *Charles's* Designs reached farther than the Kingdom of *Naples*; wherefore they willingly listened to *Lodovico Sforza's* Proposals, who, as soon as the *Florentines* had complied with the King, began to treat with, and invite them to join him in putting a Stop to the common Danger. And it was thought, that if *Charles* had met with

A. D.

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A. D. 1495. with any Difficulties in the *Roman* Territory, or in his Entrance into the Kingdom of *Naples*, they would have jointly taken up Arms against him. But the Victory, following so suddenly, put an Obstacle to all that was treating to prevent it.

BUT now *Charles*, falling into Suspicion of the Proceedings of *Lodovico*, had, after his Conquest of *Naples*, taken into his Service *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, and assigned him an Hundred Lances, with an ample Salary, because he was at the Head of the *Guelf* Party in *Milan*, and entirely disaffected to *Lodovico*. He next, with many fair Promises, brought into his Interest Cardinal *Fregoso*, and *Objetto dal Fiesco*, because they were powerful Instruments for raising Commotions in *Genoa*; and refused to grant *Lodovico* the promised Investiture of the Principality of *Taranto*, asserting he could not lay any Claim to that Promise until the whole Kingdom was entirely subdued. These Proceedings were very disagreeable to *Lodovico*, and gave him a Handle to lay an Embargo on Twelve Gallies that were equipping for the King
at

Jonathan

at *Genoa*; and also to order that no Vessels should be armed for the *French* Service in that Port. The King made great Complaints of this Usage, which he gave for a Reason of his not having been able to renew his Attack on *Ischia* with a greater Force.

JEALOUSIES and Discontents thus daily increasing in all Parts, and the sudden Acquisition of *Naples* representing to *Lodovico*, and the *Venetians*, the Danger greater and nearer at hand, they were necessitated to defer no longer the Execution of their Schemes, and they engaged the more readily as they were sure of powerful Confederates: For the Pope, who was excessively terrified at the *French*, was not less ready to come into their Measures. But what the Senate and *Sforza* laid the greatest and most solid Foundation on was the Assistance of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* Sovereigns of *Spain*. In their late Treaty with the King of *France*, they having engaged not to molest him in the Acquisition of *Naples*, solely with a View of inducing him to restore the County of *Roussillon*,

A. D. fillon, had craftily left themselves at Li-

^{1495.} berty to act the contrary; for (if the Report be true which they gave out) there was added to the Articles of that Restitution a Clause, from which they inferred, that if the Pontiff, for the Interest of his Fief, should require them to assist the Kingdom of *Naples*, they were at liberty to do it without any Infringement of their Faith and Promises.

BUT be this as it will, certain it is that, as soon as they had recovered these Towns, they not only began to give Hopes of their Assistance to the *Aragonians*, and earnestly underhand intreated the Pope not to abandon their Cause, but exhorted the King of *France*, first in a friendly manner, as desirous of his Glory, and out of Zeal for Religion, that he would turn his Arms rather against Infidels than against Christians; and afterwards pressed the same with more Vehemence, and in Terms more suspicious, according to the Progress he made towards *Naples*. And that their Representations might be accompanied with greater Weight, and also to feed the
Pope

Pope and *Aragonians* with greater Hopes, under Colour of securing *Sicily*, they prepared a Fleet, which, however, did not arrive till *Naples* was lost; and, according to their Custom of promising more than they effected, this Armada had only on board Eight Hundred Gennets, and a Thousand *Spanish* Foot. They proceeded in this dissembling Manner till the *Colonnas* had seized on *Ostia*, and the Threats uttered by the King of *France* against the Pope gave them a more plausible Reason to discover what they had already conceived in their Minds. They then (which was before the King left *Florence*) publicly declared, by their Ambassador *Antonio Fonzeca*, that, according to the Duty of Christian Princes, they would take under their Protection the Pope and the Kingdom of *Naples*, which was a Fief of the *Roman* Church. At the same time they began to treat of a Confederacy with the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*; and, after the Flight of the *Aragonians*, very earnestly solicited that, for the common Safety, they would join with them against the *French*. At last, in the Month of

A. D. *April*, in *Venice*, whither the Ambassadors of all those Princes had resorted, a
 1495.
 A League against the King of France. Confederacy was concluded between the Pope, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *Spain*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*. By the Title of these Articles which were published, it appeared that the only Intent of this League was to protect each others Dominions, and all Princes were permitted to accede to it on reasonable Terms. But as they were unanimous in thinking it necessary that *Charles* should not keep Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, it was stipulated in the secret Articles, that the *Spaniards* who were come into *Sicily* should assist *Ferdinando* of *Aragon* in the Recovery of that Kingdom, that Prince having formed a Design of entering *Calabria*, relying on the Affections of those People: That the *Venetians* should at the same Time attack the maritime Coasts of the Kingdom with their Fleet: That the Duke of *Milan*, to prevent fresh Succours from *France*, should possess himself of *Asti*, where the Duke of *Orleans* was left with a few Troops; and that the Kings of the *Romans* and of *Spain* should be allowed

lowed by the other Confederates a certain Sum of Money, to enable each of them to enter *France* with a powerful Army. The Confederates wished also that all the *Italian* Powers would unanimously join them, and therefore pressed the *Florentines* and the Duke of *Ferrara* to enter into the same Confederacy. The Duke being requested before the Publication of the League, had refused to take up Arms against the King of *France*; yet at the same time, with an *Italian* Caution, permitted his eldest Son Don *Alfonso* to go into the Service of the Duke of *Milan* with an Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, under the Title of Lieutenant-General of his Forces. Different was the Case of the *Florentines*, who were invited into the Confederacy with large Offers, and had very just Reasons to abandon the King: For as soon as the Treaty was divulged, *Lodovico Sforza* engaged, in the Name of all the Confederates, that the whole Strength of the League should oppose the King, if he offered to attack them in his Return from *Naples*, and also assist them whenever Occasion offered in recovering *Pisa* and *Li-*

A. D.
1495.

A. D. 1495. *verno.* On the other hand, the King, without any Regard to his Promises made in *Florence*, had neither put them in Possession of their Towns, nor after the Acquisition of *Naples* restored their Fortresses, paying greater Deference to the Counsels of those who favouring the *Pisans* persuaded him that, the Instant his Majesty restored them, the *Florentines* would join the rest of the *Italians*, than to his Word and Oaths; and the Cardinal of *San Malo* very faintly opposed these Counsels, tho' he had received a large Sum of Money from the *Florentines*, because he did not care on their Account to enter into Disputes with the Great Men of the Court. The King had given Proofs of the small Value he set on his Faith, and on the Importance of the Adherence of the *Florentines* at such a Juncture; for when their Ambassadors complained of the Rebellion of *Montepulciano*, and desired him to oblige the *Senese* to restore that Town, he answered, as it were in Derision, "What can I do, if your own Subjects rebel, on account of their ill Usage?" Notwithstanding these Provocations, the *Florentines*

tines would not suffer their Resentment A. D. 1495. to get the better of their Judgment where their Interest was concerned ; but were determined not to hearken to the Proposals of the Confederates ; being unwilling to give any fresh Occasion to provoke against them the *French* Arms at the King's Return, and they had also some Hopes of procuring the Restoration of their Towns when they treated with his Majesty in Person. Besides, they trusted little to the fair Promises of the Allies ; being satisfied they were hated by the *Venetians* for the Opposition they had at different Times given to their Undertakings ; and well knowing that *Lodovico* himself aspired after the Dominion of *Pisa*.

THE Credit of the *French* was by this Time very much sunk in the Kingdom of III Conduct of the French. *Naples* ; for, by giving themselves up to Diversions, and leaving the Government to Chance, they had neglected to expel the *Aragonians* from the few Places they possessed, which might have easily been compassed, had they pursued their good Fortune. But the Affection of the People

A. D. was much diminished, because though the
 1495. King had given Marks of his Generosity
 on several Occasions by granting, in all
 Parts of the Kingdom, such Privileges and
 Exemptions, as amounted to above Two
 Hundred Thousand Ducats a Year, yet o-
 ther Matters were not conducted with the
 Order and Prudence that were necessary :
 For *Charles*, averse to all Trouble, did not
 like to hear and redress Complaints, but left
 the Management of all weighty Affairs to
 his Ministers, who, either thro' Ignorance
 or Avarice, threw every Thing into Confu-
 sion : The Barons were not treated with
 Humanity, nor rewarded : They were ad-
 mitted with very great Difficulty to the
 King's Presence ; no Distinction was made
 between Man and Man, nor any Regard
 paid to Persons of Merit unless it were by
 Chance, no Pains taken to confirm the
 Disaffection of those who were naturally ill-
 disposed towards the *Aragonians* : Many
 Difficulties and Delays were interposed to
 protract the Restitution of the Estates and
 Effects of the *Anjouin* Faction, and other
 Barons expelled by old *Ferdinando*. No
 Favours were bestowed without Bribes or

extraordinary Methods, many were deprived of their Effects without Reason, A. D.
1495. many enriched without Cause, almost all Posts, and the Goods of many were distributed amongst the *French*, and, to the vast Displeasure of the *Neapolitans*, almost all the Crown Lands) such are called those which are under the King's immediate Dominion) were given away, and the greatest Part to the *French*.

THESE Proceedings were so much the more grievous to the Subjects, as they had been accustomed to the prudent and orderly Government of the *Aragonian* Kings, and had promised themselves great Matters from the new King. To this was added the natural Pride of the *French*, increased by the Easiness of their Victories, which inspired them with so great a Conceit of themselves that they held in Contempt all the *Italians*; and their Insolence and rude Behaviour in the Houses where the Men at Arms were quartered, as much in *Naples*, as all over the Kingdom, were become insupportable. This unexpected Treatment had intirely alienated the Affec-

fec-

A. D. 1495. *Neopolitans* disgusted at the *French* fections of the People, and converted their former Affection into violent Hatred ; and, on the contrary, their Aversion to the *Aragonians* was turned into Compassion for *Ferdinando*, from whose Virtue they had Reason to expect great Atchievements : They called to mind his Speech, delivered with so much Mildness and Resolution, the Day of his Departure ; in short, *Naples* and the whole Kingdom wanted nothing but an Opportunity to replace on the Throne that Family whose Destruction they had desired. Even the so odious Name of *Alfonso* was becoming agreeable : They now calling that a just Severity which in his Father's Reign, whilst he attended to the domestic Affairs of the Kingdom was called Cruelty, and that Sincerity of an upright Heart, which they had many Years called Pride and Licentiousness. This is the Nature of the Commonwealth, who are inclined to hope for more than they ought, and to put up with less than what is necessary, and are soon tired of the present ; especially the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Naples*, who are remarkable

remarkable above all the *Italians* for their Inconstancy and Desire of Change.

A. D.

1495.

THE King, before the Forming of the new League, was determined to return speedily into *France*, more out of Levity, and to please all his Courtiers, who vehemently wished it, than out of any prudent Motive ; for in his new Kingdom many most important Affairs were not yet settled, concerning the Rights of the Princes and States, nor could the Victory be deemed compleat till the Whole was subdued. But when the King was apprised of this Confederacy of so many Potentates against him, he grew very uneasy, and advised with his Ministry what was proper to be done upon such an unexpected Event. Every one agreed that, amongst Christian Princes, for many Ages, there had not been formed so powerful an Alliance. It was chiefly resolved in his Council that they should hasten their Departure for *France*, for the longer they stayed, the greater Difficulties must arise by giving Time to the Confederacy to make greater Preparations, and it was already rumoured that

The King
resolves
on his Re-
turn into
France.

A. D. 1495. that at the Order of the Allies a great Number of *Germans* were to march into *Italy*, and that *Maximilian* would command them in Person : They advised, that a new Body of Troops should speedily march out of *France* to *Asli* to preserve that City, and oblige the Duke of *Milan* to attend to his own Defence; where also they would be in Readiness to advance whenever his Majesty should think it necessary : In the same Council it was settled, that Diligence should be used, and great Offers made to the Pope, to separate him from the other Allies, and to dispose him to grant the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which, tho' he had absolutely agreed when his Majesty was in *Rome*, he had ever after refused it, even with a Declaration that this Concession should not prejudice the Claim of any other Prince.

Affairs of the Pisans BUT these weighty Matters and great Concerns did not put the Affair of *Pisa* out of the King's Mind, who wished, for many Reasons, to have the Disposal of that City in his Power. Therefore, as he apprehended the Citadel of that Town might be taken

taken from him by the *Pisans* assisted by A. D.
1495. the Allies, on the Return of the *Pisan* Ambassadors, who were at his Court, he sent by Sea a Body of Six Hundred *French* Infantry. They, like the rest of their Countrymen, who had been left in *Pisa*, soon conceived an Affection for the *Pisans*, and after receiving a Sum of Money, in hopes of Booty, they went to assist at the Siege of *Librafatta*. *Lucio Malvezzo*, with a Body of *Pisans* being informed that the *Florentines* had sent Part of their Troops against *Montepulciano*, had ventured a few Days before to lay Siege to that Castle, and on hearing the *French* approached, had, that very Morning before Day-light, raised the Siege, but now meeting with the *French* he returned to *Librafatta*, and took it in a few Days : For the *Florentine* Army, which was returning to its Succour, was retained by the Waters of the River *Secchia*, which were risen so high that they could not pass it, and they durst not venture to go by the Walls of *Lucca*, because that Republic was violently in the Interest of the *Pisans*. After the taking of *Librafatta*, the *French* who kept Garrison there,
together

A. D. together with the *Pisans*, over-run the
 1495. whole Territory of *Pisa*, as declared Enemies to the *Florentines*, who made grievous Complaints to the King. But *Charles* made no other Answer but that on his Arrival in *Tuscany* he would perform all he had promised, advising them to wait with Patience for so little a Time.

Part of the
 French
 Army left
 to guard
 the King-
 dom of
 Naples. BUT the King could not set out as soon as he was willing, for he had not so great an Army that when it was divided into two Parts he could conduct himself to *Asi* without Danger, considering the Opposition of the Allies, and at the same Time leave a sufficient Force to protect the Kingdom of *Naples* against such mighty Preparations. These Difficulties constrained him to diminish the Provisions necessary for his Safety, that the Kingdom might not remain destitute of Defence; and at the same time, not to manifestly endanger his Person, to leave fewer Troops behind him than were necessary for the Preservation of his Conquest. He then resolved to leave only one Half of the *Swiss*, Part of the *French* Infantry, Eight Hundred *French* Lances, and about
 Five

Five Hundred *Italian* Men at Arms, which A. D.
 had been inlisted, Partly by the Prefect of 1495.
Rome, and partly by *Prospero* and *Fabritio Colonna*, and *Antonello Savelli*. These Com-
 manders had been amply rewarded by the
 King in his Distribution of the Towns and
 confiscated Estates, especially the *Colonnas* ;
 for on *Fabritio Charles* had bestowed the
 Territories of *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*, lately
 possessed by *Virginio Orfini* ; and on *Pro-*
spéro the Dutchy of *Trajetto*, and the City
 of *Fondi*, with many other Castles belong-
 ing to the Family of the *Gaetani* ; as also
Monte Fortino, with the neighbouring Vil-
 lages, taken from the Family of the *Conti* ;
 He therefore had Reason to expect that
 these and several other Barons, whom he
 had enriched, would exert themselves, and
 unite with his Troops, in case of Danger,
 as their own Interest would be concerned
 in supporting his, and especially the Prin-
 ces of *Bisignano* and *Salerno*, which last he
 had restored to the Office of Admiral.
Gilbert de Monpensier was appointed Lieu-
 tenant General of the whole Kingdom.
 He was in greater Repute for his Quality,
 being of the Royal Blood, than for his Va-
 lour.

A. D. 1495. *lour.* Many other Officers of Note, to all of whom the King had given States and Provinces, were dispersed about the Kingdom : The chief of these were *Aubigni*, Governor of *Calabria*, created Grand-Constable ; the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, Governor of *Gaeta*, made Grand-Chamberlain ; and *Gratiano* a Man of Valour and reputed a good Officer, to whom was committed the Care of the *Abruzzi*. The King promised to send them very speedily Reinforcements and Money ; but he left them no other Provision than an Assignment of the daily Produce of the Finances, which was very precarious, the *Aragonian* Name gaining Ground in many Places. For, just before *Charles's* Departure, *Ferdinando* was landed in *Calabria* with the *Spanish* Soldiers that came with the Fleet into *Sicily* ; many of the Inhabitants of those Districts immediately flocking about him, he soon made himself Master of the City of *Reggio*, the Castle having always held out for him : At the same time the *Venetian* Fleet, commanded by *Antonio Grimani*, a Person of great Authority in the Republic, appeared on the Coasts of *Puglia*. But neither these

Ferdinando in Calabria.

these, nor any other Indications of a future Change, were sufficient to put off, or retard the King's Return. For, besides the Necessity which he had persuaded himself there was for his Departure, 'tis incredible what Eagerness both he and all his Court expressed to return to *France*; as if Fortune, which had been sufficient to obtain him so greata Victory, was alone sufficient to preserve it: A. D.
1495.

THE Islands of *Ischia* and *Lipari*, tho' near to *Sicily*, belonged to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and continued in *Ferdinando's* Possession. *Reggio* in *Calabria* was newly recovered, as was *Terra Nuova*, and its Citadel, with some other Forts and adjacent Villages in the same Province; *Brindisi*, whither *Federigo* had retired, *Gallipoli*, *Mantia*, and *Turpia*, were likewise in the Hands of the *Aragonians*.

BEFORE the King left *Naples* he began to treat with the Pope on several Points, not without some Hopes of Success. *Alexander's* Agent, on this Occasion, was Cardinal *San Dionigi*, and Mons.

King of
France
treats with
the Pope.

A, D. *Franzi* was the King's Minister. The Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* was what the King chiefly desired, and that if his Holiness had Reasons not to declare in his Favour, he would at least not join his Enemies, but admit him into *Rome* as a Friend. *Alexander* at first seemed willing to comply; but not being able to persuade himself to trust the King, and therefore not willing to separate himself from the Allies, or confer on him the Investiture, which he thought would not be Inducement enough for a sincere Reconciliation, and therefore diffident of the King's Mind, he interposed various Difficulties to his other Demands, and tho' the King submitted to the Investiture *without Prejudice to any one's Right*, he replied, he would first have the Right judicially examined. On the other hand, being desirous to prevent with an armed Force the King's Entrance into *Rome*, he desired the *Venetians* and *Lodovico* to send him a Body of Troops; and they dispatched to his Assistance a Thousand light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, and promised him also a Thousand Men at Arms, which
with

with his own Forces he thought sufficient *A. D.*
 for his Purpose. But soon after they be- *1495.*
 gan to apprehend it would be very dan-
 gerous to send their Men so far from their
 own States whilst their Army was not yet
 all assembled, one Part of it being already
 employed against *Asti*: Besides, they
 distrusted the Pope's Fidelity, on recol-
 lecting that, after sending for *Ferdinan-*
do to come into *Rome* with his Army,
 he had obliged him to depart. On
 these Considerations they persuaded the
 Pope rather to retire into some strong
 Place, than, by undertaking the Defence
 of *Rome*, expose his Person to so great a
 Peril; for though the King should enter
Rome, he would soon depart without leav-
 ing behind him any Troops. These Pro-
 ceedings increased the Hopes *Charles* had
 conceived of prevailing on the Pope to
 enter into some Agreement with him.

THE King then left *Naples* the 20th of *Charles*
May, but as he had not yet, with the usual *crowned*
 Ceremonies, assumed the Title and Royal *King of*
Naples.
 Ensigns, a few Days before his Departure
 he was solemnly crowned with great Pomp

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and Celebrity in the Cathedral, and received the Honours and Oaths of Allegiance paid on such Occasions to new Kings. *Joviano Pontano* made an Oration in the Name of the *Neapolitan* People. He was a Person very famous for his excellent Learning and Politeness, which gave no small Credit to his Speech ; for having been long Secretary to the *Aragonian* Kings, they entertained so high an Opinion of his Merit, that they had made him Tutor and School-master to *Alfonso*. It was thought that, to keep up to the Rules of Oratory, or to render himself more agreeable to the *French*, he expatiated too copiously in Dispraise of those Kings who had so much exalted him. So difficult it is to observe ourselves that Moderation and those Precepts with which *Pontano*, endued with so great a Stock of Learning, and writing so freely on moral Virtues, and making himself, by his astonishing Progress in all Sorts of Learning, the Wonder of the World, had acted the Part of a Dictator to all Mankind.

CHARLES was accompanied by Eight Hundred *French* Lances, the Two Hundred Gentlemen of his Guard, *Trivulzi* with a Hundred Lances, Three Thousand *Swiss*, a Thousand *French*, and a Thousand *Gascon* Foot, and gave Orders to *Camillo Vitelli* and his Brothers to join him in *Tuscany* with Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and for the Fleet to return to *Livorno*. *Virginio Orsini*, and Count *Pitigliano*, followed without any other Guard than their Parole, but as they complained that they were unjustly made Prisoners, their Cause was laid before the Royal Council, where they alledged that when they surrendered, their Messengers had not only been granted a Pass from the King's Mouth, but that his Majesty, after it had been drawn out in writing had signed it with his own Hand: That they being informed of this by their Messengers, before the Pass was expedited by the Secretaries, under this Assurance, at the first Summons of a Herald, had erected in *Nola* the King's Standard, and delivered the Keys to the

Departs
from Na-
ples.

800
200
100
300
100
100
250
6350

The Case
of Virgi-
nio Orsini,
and Count
Pitigliano,

A. D. *French* Officer, who came with a few
 1495. Horse, though they had with them above
 Four Hundred Men at Arms, and could
 easily have made a Resistance. They then
 pleaded the ancient Attachment of the Fa-
 mily of the *Orsini*, pleading how they had
 ever been of the *Guelf* Party, that both
 themselves and every one that had ever been
 born, or should be born of that House, had
 or would have engraven in his Heart the
 Name and Ensign of the Crown of *France*,
 for which Reason they had so readily ad-
 mitted the King into their Dominions in
 the *Roman* Territory; and therefore in-
 sisted that, both in regard to their Behaviour,
 and the King's Faith, it was neither reason-
 able nor just that they should be detained
 Prisoners. But they were sharply answer-
 ed by *Ligni*, whose Regiment had taken
 them at *Nola*, that a Pass, though granted
 and signed by the King, was of no Force
 nor perfected till corroborated with the
 Royal Seal, signed by the Secretaries, and
 delivered to the Party: That this had e-
 ver been the most ancient Rule and Stan-
 dard of all Courts in Concessions and Pa-
 tents. The Reason was, that unguarded
 Expressions from the Prince, who is sup-
 posed

posed to be continually engaged in a Multiplicity of Business, and might not be fully informed of Facts, should be regulated by this Form: That their Dependance on this Pass had not been their Inducement to surrender to so small a Force; they had acted out of Necessity and Fear, for it was not at that Time in their Power either to resist or fly, all the Country around them being in the Hands of the Conquerors: That what they alledged by way of Merit was false, and, if asserted by others, they ought to deny it out of Regard to their own Honour, it being well known to the whole World, that not voluntarily, but to avoid Danger, they abandoned, in their utmost Distress, the *Aragonians*, who in their Prosperity had loaded them with Favours, and opened the Gates of their Towns to the King, who having surpris'd them at a Time when they were in the Enemy's Pay, utterly averse to the *French* Interest, and without any just Security given, the Rules of War had constituted them legal Prisoners. These Reasonings, supported against the *Orsini* by the Power of *Ligni*, and the Authority of the *Colonnas*, who, on account of their ancient Emulation and

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1495.

A. D. 1495. Diversity of Faction, openly opposed them, prevented the passing of any Sentence, and it was resolved they should follow the King, with Hopes, however, of their being set at Liberty as soon as they arrived at *Asti*.

The Pope retires from *Rome* BUT the Pope, tho' persuaded by the Allies to quit *Rome*, was sometimes inclined to reconcile himself with *Charles*, and continued to treat with him: Yet at last his Suspicions got the better, and two Days before the King entered *Rome*, tho' he gave his Majesty some Hopes of waiting for him, accompanied by the College of Cardinals, Two Hundred Men at Arms, a Thousand light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, he retired to *Orvieto*, after leaving a sufficient Garrison in *Castel Sant' Angelo*, and the Cardinal of *Sant' Anastasia* his Legate, to receive and compliment the King, who entered *Rome* by *Trasevere*, to avoid passing *Castel Sant' Angelo*, and took up his Quarters in the Suburbs, refusing to lodge in the Palace of the *Vatican*, which, by the Pope's Order, had been prepared for his Reception. *Alexander* removed from *Orvieto* to *Perugia*, as soon

Charles
enters
Rome.

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1495.

soon as he was informed of the King's Approach to *Viterbo*, notwithstanding he had again promised to meet him in some convenient Place, between that Town and *Orvieto* ; and had *Charles* taken that Rout and followed him, he was determined to retire to *Ancona*, and taking the Advantage of the Sea sail from thence to some Place where he might be in perfect Safety from being molested. The King, tho' highly provoked, restored the Citadels of *Civita Vecchia*, and *Terracina*, reserving only *Ostia*, which on his leaving *Italy* he put under the Care of the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, Bishop of that Place, and continued his March through the Ecclesiastical Dominions, as through a friendly Country, without committing any Hostilities, excepting at *Toscanella*, where his Van being refused Entrance, they took the Town by Assault, plundered it, and put many to the Sword.

CHARLES, after this, to no manner of Purpose, stayed six Days at *Siena*, without considering with himself, or giving Heed to the pressing Instances of the Cardinal of *San*

A. D. *San Piero in Vincola* and *Trivulzi*, who re-

1495.

monstrated how dangerous it might prove to give the Enemy Time to get ready, and unite their Forces. Nor did he make any sort of Amends for this Loss of Time, by any prudent Resolution. For in *Siena* a Consultation was held concerning the Restitution of the Fortresses of the *Florentines*, solemnly promised by the King at his Departure from *Naples*, and afterwards several times confirmed on his March; the *Florentines* not only being ready to pay the Thirty Thousand Ducats, which were the Residue of what was due by Agreement, but also to lend him Seventy Thousand more, and to send *Francesco Secco*, their General, to accompany him as far as *Asti*, with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thousand Foot. Hence the Necessity the King had for Money, the Prospect of augmenting his Army, and a Regard to his Royal Word and Oaths, induced almost every one of his Council earnestly to persuade him to give up all but *Pietra Santa*, and *Sarzana*, as they might be of Use to bring the *Genoese* into his Interest. But Fate had decreed that a Match should be left

left behind, to set *Italy* once more in a Flame.

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LIGNI, an unexperienced Youth, born of a Sister of the King's Mother, was very much in Favour : He, actuated by Levity, or angry that the *Florentines* had attached themselves to the Cardinal of *San Malo*, prevented this Restitution with no other Arguments than setting forth the Compassion due to the *Pisans*, making the Assistance of the *Florentines* appear despicable, and boasting that the *French* Forces were sufficient to beat all the *Italian* Armies united together. *Ligni* was seconded by *Monf. de Pienes*, who expected to be made Governor of *Pisa* and *Livorno*.

ANOTHER Council was held in *Siena*, *Siena* taken into the King's Protection concerning the Government of that City ; for several of the Orders of the People and Reformers insisted on a new Form, that they might depress the Power of the Order *del Monte de' Nove*, and required that their Guard should be removed from the Town-house, and a *French* one placed under

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der *Ligni*. This Demand was rejected in the Council as a Measure improper at that Juncture, and not durable for any Length of Time : But *Ligni*, who vainly expected to make himself Sovereign of *Siena*, prevailed on the King to take that City and its State into his Protection, except *Montepulciano*, his Majesty not thinking it proper to intermeddle in the Disputes between the *Florentines* and *Senese* concerning that Town. Hence, with the King's Approbation the Community of *Siena*, tho' it was not mentioned in the Capitulation, chose, with the King's Consent, *Ligni* for their Commander, and assigned him a Salary of Twenty Thousand Ducats a Year, *Ligni* engaging to leave a Lieutenant with three Hundred Foot to guard the Palace, which he did of those who were in the *French* Army. The Weakness of this Deliberation soon appeared ; for not long after the Magistracy *de' Nove* recovered by Force of Arms their usual Authority, expelled this Guard, and dismissed *Monf. de Lisle*, whom *Charles* had left as his Ambassador.

ALL this while the Affairs of the Allies in *Lombardy* advanced very briskly. *Lodovico* had received from *Cæsar*, with great Solemnity, the Investiture of the Dutchy of *Milan*, paid Homage in Public, and taken the Oath of Fidelity to the Ambassador who brought the Act, and, in concert with the *Venetians*, had made vast Preparations to obstruct the King's Return into *France*, or at least to secure the Dutchy of *Milan*, through a long Tract of which he was to travel: For this Purpose they both, after reviewing their Troops, made new Levies of Men at Arms, to be maintained, part at their separate Expence, and part in common. And, though with some Difficulty, they prevailed on *Giovanni Bentivoglio* to accept a Salary from both, on his obliging the City of *Bologna* to declare for the League. For the Security also of *Genoa*, *Lodovico* armed Ten Gallies at his own Expence: And the Pope, in concert with the *Venetians*, joined with him in the Charge of providing and maintaining Four large Ships. And being obliged by the Convention to lay Siege to *Asli*, he

Lodovico's Preparations against the King.

had

A. D. had already sent into *Germany* to inlist
 1495. Two Thousand Foot, and ordered *Galeazzo da San Severino*, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thousand Foot, to undertake that Expedition. And as he was naturally very insolent in Prosperity, promising himself a sure Victory, out of Contempt, he sent the Duke of *Orleans* a rude Message, ordering him to usurp no longer the Title of Duke of *Milan*, which *Charles*, the Duke's Father, had assumed after the Death of *Filippo Maria Visconti*; not to permit any more *French* Troops to come into *Italy*; to send back those with him; and, for his Security of the Performance of these Demands, to put *Asti* into the Hands of *Galeazzo da San Severino*, in whom his King might confide as much as in himself, having the Year before, in *France*, admitted him into the Fraternity of his own Order of *St. Michael*. He then magnified and boasted of his Forces, of the mighty Preparations of the Confederates to oppose the King of *France* in *Italy*, and how the King of the *Romans*, and the Sovereigns of *Spain* were making ready to carry on a War beyond the *Alps*. The Duke of *Orleans* paying little Regard to
 these

these vain Menaces, on the first Notice of the Negotiations for a new Confederacy, had attended to fortify *Asti*, and solicited earnestly for a Supply of Troops from *France*. And as the King had sent Orders for new Levies to reinforce his own Army, they were making hasty Marches over the Mountains, which enabled him to take the Field and act offensively. In the Marquisate of *Saluzzo* he took the Town and Castle of *Gualfinara*, possessed by *Antonio Maria da San Severino*, which obliged *Galeazzo*, who had before taken some small Castles, to retire with his Army to *Anon*, a Town of the *Milanese* near *Asti*, where he remained without Hopes of attacking, but also without Fear of being attacked.

LODOVICO was naturally inclined to enter into very expensive Schemes, but when they were ripe for Execution was unwilling to part with his Money; a Conduct which exposed his Dominions, at this Juncture, to great Danger. For very few *German* Soldiers had enlisted when they found Money was scarce; and for
the

A. D. the same Reason the Troops which accompanied *Galeazzo* every Day diminished. ^{1495.} On the other Hand, the Duke of *Orleans's* Army continually increased; for the *French* marched chearfully out of *France*, to the Succour of the King's Person.

ORLEANS had already got together Three Hundred Lances, Three Thousand *Swiss*, and the like Number of *Gascons*. And though *Charles* had strictly ordered him not to undertake any Thing, that he might be ready on the first Notice to come and meet him; yet, as it is difficult to resist what appears beneficial, he resolved to lay hold of the Opportunity of seizing on the City of *Novara*, into which he was offered to be introduced by the *Opizini Caccia*, Noblemen of that City, who were greatly incensed against *Lodovico* for having usurped from them, and many other Citizens, certain Aqueducts, and other Possessions, by corrupting Witnesses to swear falsely before the Judges. The Duke of *Orleans*, after settling with the *Opizini* the Manner, accompanied by *Lodovico*,
Marquis

Marquis of *Saluzzo*, in the Night passed the *Po*, at the Bridge of *Stura*, in the Marquis of *Montferrato*'s Dominions, and, without meeting with any Resistance, was let into *Novara* by the Conspirators ; from whence he made continual Excursions with Parties of his Horse, as far as *Vigevano* ; and it was thought, if he had marched directly towards *Milan* with the Army, he would have excited great Commotions ; for as soon as the *Milaneſe* heard that *Novara* was taken, they ſeemed very much inclined to revolt. *Lodovico* was not leſs dejected in Adverſity than elated in Proſperity, and as indeed Inſolence and Timidity almoſt conſtantly meet together in the ſame Subject, ſo now *Lodovico*, with unprofitable Tears, diſcovered his Puſillanimity, when he found his Troops with *Galeazzo*, on which only depended his Defence, durſt not appear before the Enemy. But the Condition and Diſorder of an Enemy not being always known to the Generals, for Want of ſuch Intelligence, the faireſt Opportunities in Wars are often loſt, nor indeed did it appear probable that ſo ſudden a Change could happen in a Prince of ſo much Power.

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ORLEANS, to secure his new Acquisition, laid Siege to the Citadel, which the fifth Day agreed to surrender, if it was not succoured in Twenty-four Hours: But, during that small Interval, *San Severino* had Time to collect his Troops in *Vigevano*; and the Duke, to reconcile himself to his People, had by Proclamation taken off several Taxes which he had laid to increase his Army. The Duke of *Orleans*, however, approaching with his Troops to the Walls of *Vigevano*, offered the Enemy Battle; but *Sforza's* Men were terrified, and rather inclined to abandon the Town, and pass the River *Tesino* on a Bridge of Boats they had laid. When the Duke found he could not bring them to an Engagement he went to *Trecas*, and from that Time *Lodovico's* Affairs took a prosperous Turn, his Army increasing daily, both with Horse and Foot; for the *Venetians*, being content to take on themselves the Care of opposing the King, permitted him to recal Part of the Troops he had in the *Parmesan*, and sent him also Four Hundred of their *Stradiotti*. This prevented *Orleans* from advancing;

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vancing; and a Party of Five Hundred of his Horſe, that had made an Excuſion to *Vigevano*, was repulſed with Loſs by a Sal-ly from that Town. *San Severino*, ſuperior now in Strength, marched to *Trecas*, and offered Battle in his Turn, and at laſt having got together his whole Army, which conſiſted of the *Italian* Foot, beſides a Thouſand *German* Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot, lately arrived, he encamped within a Mile of *Novara*, to which Place *Orleans* was retired with all his Forces.

THE News of the Rebellion of *Novara* put *Charles*, who was at *Siena*, on haſten-
ing his March: And to avoid every Thing
that might retard him, hearing that the
Florentines, admoniſhed by their late Dan-
gers, and being under Suſpicions, becauſe
Piero de' Medici attended him, tho' they
had appointed to receive him in *Florence*
with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Ho-
nour, had for their Security filled the City
with Soldiers and Arms, he paſſed thro'
the *Florentine* Dominion to *Piſa*, leaving
Florence on his Right. At *Poggibonzi* he

Charles
marches
to *Piſa*.

A. D.

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was met by *Girolamo Savonarola*, who, according to his Custom, mixing the Divine Name and Authority with his Speeches, earnestly exhorted him to restore the Fortresses of the *Florentines*; to his Persuasions adding most grievous Threats that, if he hesitated to observe what he had so solemnly sworn, laying his Hand on the Gospels, and, as may be said, before the Eyes of God, he would be punished by Heaven in a most severe Manner. The King, with his usual Inconstancy, then, and the Day following, at *Castel Fiorentino*, gave him different Answers; sometimes promising to restore them on his Arrival at *Pisa*; at others refusing, pretending his Oaths could not be binding, because he had previously engaged with the *Pisans* to preserve their Liberty; yet he constantly gave Hopes to the Republic's Ambassadors that he would restore them on his Arrival at *Pisa*. When he came thither this Affair was again proposed in Council; for News increasing every Day of the great Preparations of the Confederates Army, and of their being all joined near *Parma*, they began to consider the

Difficulties

Difficulties of passing thro' *Lombardy*, and therefore were desirous of the large Sum of Money and Auxiliaries offered by the *Florentines*. But this Advice was opposed by the same Persons who had opposed it at *Siena*; they said, if the Army should be put into Disorder by the Enemy, or meet with Difficulties in their March thro' *Lombardy*, it was better to be assured of the Town of *Pisa*, whither they might safely retreat, than to leave it in the Hands of the *Florentines*, who, when once in Possession of their Towns, would be as treacherous as the rest of the *Italians* had been; adding that, for the Preservation of the Kingdom of *Naples*, it was very convenient the King should be possessed of the Port of *Livorno*; for when he had altered, as he designed, and was to be hoped, the Government of *Genoa*, he would then, in a manner, be Master of all the Sea Coast from *Marseilles* to *Naples*.

CERTAIN it is that these Reasons had some Weight with *Charles*, who was not of himself capable of chusing for the best. But he was much more moved by the Sup-

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plications and Tears of the *Pisans*; who, in great Numbers, presented themselves before him, with their Wives and little Children, and falling sometimes prostrate at his Feet, and sometimes, with miserable Cries, telling their Case even to the meanest of the Courtiers and Soldiers, with most bitter Lamentations, and miserable Wailings, deplored their future Calamities, the implacable Hatred of the *Florentines*, and the entire Desolation of their Country, which they should not have Cause to lament if the King himself had not given them their Liberty; for believing that the Words of the most Christian King of *France* were Words firm and stable, they had been the more emboldened to provoke the Enmity of the *Florentines*. With these Complaints and Exclamations they melted the Hearts of the very private Men at Arms, the Archers of the Army, and many also of the *Swiss*, who flocked in great Numbers, in a tumultuous Manner, to the King; and *Salazart*, one of the Pensioners, in the Name of the rest, addressed him, earnestly soliciting that, for the Honour of his own Person, for the
 Glory

Glory of the Crown of *France*, for the Comfort of so many of his Servants, who were ready at all times to lay down their Lives for him, and who counselled him with more Fidelity than those who were corrupted with the Money of the *Florentines*, he would not deprive the *Pisans* of that Benefit he had himself procured them; and that Want of Money might not induce him to commit so infamous an Action, bid him rather take their Collars, Plate, and stop their Pensions and Pay. This Tumult had got to such a Head, that a private Archer was bold enough to threaten the Cardinal of *St. Malo*; others talked in high Terms to the Marshal *Gié*, and the President *Gannay*, who, they knew, counselled this Restitution. Such a Variety of Counsels so distracted the King's Mind; that he kept the Affair in Suspense, and was at a Loss how to act: Sometimes he renewed his Promises to the *Pisans*, never to give them up; then he would send to the *Florentine* Ministers, who waited at *Lucca*, to let them know that, what for weighty Reasons he could not do then, he would perform as soon as he arrived at

A. D. *Asti*, whither he desired the Republic would
 1495. send their Ambassadors. He left *Pisa*, after changing the Governor of the Citadel, and placing therein a sufficient Garrison, as he did in the Castles of the other Towns; and being of himself very anxious to get Possession of *Genoa*, and at the same time instigated by the Cardinals of *San Piero in Vincola*, and *Fregoso*, *Objetto dal Fiesco*, and many other outlawed Persons, who gave him great Hopes that with much Ease a Revolution might be brought about, he sent with them from *Sarzana* on that Enterprize Monsr. *Filippo*, with a Hundred and Twenty Lances, and Five Hundred Foot, who were just arrived by Sea from *France*, contrary to the Advice of his whole Council, who blamed the Diminution of the Army: He also gave Orders that the Men at Arms of the *Vitelli* which were not come up Time enough to join him, should follow them; that a Body of Soldiers sent him by the Duke of *Savoy*, with some Exiles should enter the Western *Riviera*, and for the Fleet, now reduced to Seven Gallies, two Galleons, and two small

small Vessels, under *Miolans*, to go and assist the Land-Forces.

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IN the mean Time the Avant-Guard, conducted by Marshal *Gié*, was come to *Pontremoli*, where the Townsmen dismissed the Garrison they entertained of Three Hundred Men, and, at the Persuasion of *Trivulzi*, surrendered on Condition they should not be molested in their Persons or Effects. But the Capitulation did them no Service, for the *Swiss*, to revenge the Death of about Forty of their Comrades killed by those of *Pontremoli*, on account of a Dispute risen by Chance, when the King's Army passed thro' the *Lunigiana*, entering furiously into the Town plundered and burnt it, and cruelly put all the Inhabitants to the Sword.

THE Confederates, in the mean Time, were busy in getting together their Army in the *Parmesan*, which consisted of Two Thousand Five Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Thousand Foot, and above Two Thousand light Horse ; the most of these last were of *Albania*, and other adjacent Pro-

A. D. 1495. Provinces of *Greece*, who had been brought into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, and retained their own Country Name of *Stradiotti* : The principal Part of this Army consisted of the Troops of that Republic ; for those of *Lodovico*, who had employed almost all his Forces against *Novara*, did not exceed a Quarter of the Whole. *Francesco Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantoua*, a very young Prince, from whom, on Account of his Valour and Thirst after Glory much more was expected than is from one of his Age, was declared Governor General of the *Venetian* Forces, amongst whom were many Officers of great Renown. *Luca Pisano*, and *Marchione Trevisano*, both Men of great Weight in the Senate, were sent as Proveditors. The Duke of *Milan's* Troops were commanded by Count *Gajazzo*, who had also the Title of Governor, and was *Lodovico's* principal Favourite, but in the Knowledge of military Affairs no Way equal to his Father *Roberto da San Severino*, for this Count acquired the Name of being rather a cautious than enterprizing Officer. With him was appointed Commissary *Francesco Bernardo Visconti*,

ti, Head of the *Ghibelline* Faction in *Milan*, and, therefore, opposite to *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*. A Council of War being held, by the Generals and principal Officers of the Army, after some Debates whether it would not be proper to march to *Fornuovo*, a small Village situated at the Foot of the Mountains, it was resolved, considering the Narrowness of that Place, to advance only, within three Miles of it, to the Abbey of *Ghiaruola*, which, being in an open Country, might, perhaps, entice the *French* to come into the Plain. This Resolution gave an Opportunity for the King's Vanguard to lodge in *Fornuovo*, for it had passed the Mountain long before the rest of the Army, which had been retarded on account of the Difficulty in moving the heavy Artillery over the rough *Appennine*; and the Difficulty would have been greater, if the *Swiss*, desirous to make Amends for the Injury done to the King's Honour in the Sack of *Pontremoli*, had not with immense Labour given their Assistance.

As

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As soon as the Van arrived at *Formuovo*, the Marshal *de Gié* sent a Trumpet to the *Italian* Camp, to demand, in the Name of the King, a Passage for the Army, which intending to hurt no body, and to pay a reasonable Price for Provisions, was returning that Way into *France*. At the same time he sent a Party of Horse, to get Intelligence of the Condition of the Country and the Enemy's Army; but they were soon put to Flight by some *Stradiotti*, sent against them by *Francesco Gonzaga*: And it was thought, that if the *Italians* had then attacked the *French* Camp they might have easily routed their Van, which must have prevented the Royal Army from advancing. They had much the same Opportunity offered the next Day, notwithstanding that the Marshal, apprised of the Danger, was retired a little higher up the Mountain. But the *Italian* Commanders had not Resolution to march and attack them, deterred by the Strength of the Enemy's Situation, or imagining the Van to be more numerous, and the rest of the Army nearer than it was: Besides, it is certain

tain that at that Instant the *Venetians*, by *A. D.*
delaying to join their Troops in their Camp ^{1495.}
at *Ghiaruola*, were not yet all assembled ;
which makes it manifest that if *Charles*
had not loitered without any Occasion at
Siena, *Pisa*, and many other Places, he
might have made his Way without Impe-
diment or Opposition. Having at last
joined his Van, he lodged with his whole
Army the next Day at *Fornuovo*. The
Confederates never thought it likely that
the King, with an Army so inferior to theirs,
would have attempted to pass the *Appennine*
by the direct Road ; and therefore they at
first imagined his Design was to leave the
most of his Men at *Pisa*, and with the Re-
mainder embark on board his Fleet: And,
even when they heard of his having begun
his March they fancied that, to avoid
them, he intended to pass through the
Village of *Valditara*, and over the Moun-
tain of *Cento Croce*, which is rugged and
difficult, and so descend into the *Tortonese*,
in Hopes of meeting the Duke of *Orleans*
in the Neighbourhood of *Alessandria*.
But when they were convinced that he
directed his March to *Fornuovo*, the *Italian*
Army,

A. D. 1495. Army, whose Spirits hitherto had been kept up by the comfortable Speeches of so many General Officers, and by the Report of the small Number of the Enemy, began now to be a little discouraged: They considered the Bravery of the *French* Lances, and the Intrepidity of the *Swiss*, to whom without Comparifon the *Italian* Infantry was inferior, their Dexterity in the Management of the Artillery, and (what most affects Men when they have taken a different Impreffion) the unexpected Courage of the *French* in approaching them with fuch unequal Forces. Thefe Considerations had damped the Minds even of the Officers, and put them on consulting amongst themfelves what Answer to give the Trumpet fent by the Marfhal. It feeming very dangerous to fome that the Fate of *Italy* fhould be left to the Difcretion of Fortune: But to others it appeared infamous that the *Italian* Soldiery fhould betray fuch Fear of a *French* Army fo much inferior in Number; as to fuffer them to make their Way, before their Eyes, without Oppofition. The Opinions being different, after many Difputes, it was agreed to

to give Notice at *Milan* of the King's Request, and then to act as the Duke and the Ambassadors of the Allies, who resided there, should unanimously direct. The Duke and the Minister of the *Venetians*, whose States lay nearest the Danger, were both of the same Mind, that it was not prudent to block up the Road to a departing Enemy, but, on the contrary, according to the Proverb, make them a Silver Bridge: Otherwise it might so happen, (as could be proved by numberless Examples) that Necessity, converted into Despair, might open itself a bloody Passage through an Army indiscreetly offering to make an Opposition. But the *Spanish* Ambassador, whose Sovereigns ran no Risk, said, Fortune was to be tried, and insisted strenuously, almost in the Nature of a Protest, on not permitting the King to pass, and letting slip such an Opportunity of defeating his Army; for, if it passed safely, the Affairs of *Italy* would remain in the same perilous Situation, and even exposed to greater Dangers than before: For the King of *France*, by being in Possession of *Asti* and *Novara*, could command all *Piedmont*; and having behind him

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A. D. him the Kingdom of *France*, a Kingdom
 1495. so powerful and rich, the *Swiss* his Neigh-
 bours, always disposed to enlist under him
 in what Numbers he required, and find-
 ing himself increased in Reputation and
 Spirits, if the Allied Army, so much supe-
 rior, should so vilely give Way, he would
 continue to oppress *Italy* with greater
 Fierceness: That his Sovereigns must of
 Necessity alter their Resolutions, if the *Ita-*
lians would not, or had not Courage to
 fight the *French*. But the safest Opinion
 prevailing in the Council, it was resolved to
 write to *Venice*, where they knew the Senate
 would be of the same Mind. But all
 Consultations were needless: For the Ge-
 nerals, after writing to *Milan*, consider-
 ed that an Answer could not return in
 Time, and that it would be an infamous
 Reflection on the *Italian* Soldiery if they
 permitted the *French* a free Passage; so
 dismissing the Trumpet without any posi-
 tive Answer, they determined to attack the
 Enemy as they advanced, and both the *Vene-*
tian Proveditors concurred with the rest in
 this Determination, tho' *Trevisano* with
 greater Readiness than his Colleague.

ON the other hand, the *French* came on full of Arrogance, and Resolution ; and, as they had hitherto found no Resistance in *Italy*, were fully persuaded that the Enemy would not offer to oppose them, and, if they did, would soon be put to Flight ; so despicable an Opinion they entertained of the *Italian* Arms ! Yet when, from the Descent of the Mountain, they discovered the Encampment, observed the infinite Number of Tents and Pavilions, with the vast Tract of Land they covered (for, according to the *Italian* Custom, the Camp was formed on as much Ground as would have ranged the whole Army in Battle Array) and the great Number of their Enemies, who would hardly have come so near them, had they not been determined to fight, their Arrogance so far cooled, as to wish they might receive the happy News that the *Italians* were content to allow them a free Passage, and so much the more when they found themselves disappointed of the Assistance of the Duke of *Orleans*. That Duke, according to Orders, had promised to be on

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the Third of *July* at *Piacenza*, with all the Forces he could draw together to meet the King: But on fresh Notice that *Sforza's* Army, which opposed him, consisted of Nine Hundred Men at Arms, Twelve Hundred light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, he had now sent Word, that it was impossible to advance without certain Danger before so powerful a Force, especially as he had been obliged to diminish his own Army by leaving Garrisons in *Asti* and *Novara*. This Disappointment put the King under a Necessity of altering his Measures. *Monf. Philippe D'Argenton* was lately come from *Venice*, where he had been Ambassador: Before his Departure he had promised *Pisano* and *Trevisano*, the then declared Proveditors, to use his best Endeavours to dispose the King to Peace. *Charles* now commissioned him to send a Trumpet to these Proveditors, with a Letter, intimating that he had something to impart to them relating to the common Welfare. They agreed to meet him next Morning, at a convenient Place between the two Armies. But *Charles*, either for want of Provisions in the Situation he was in,

in, or for some other Reason, changing his Mind, determined not to wait in that Place for the Result of this Meeting.

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THE Fronts of the two Camps were not Three Miles asunder, both extended along the Bank of the River *Taro*; which deserves rather the Name of a Torrent than of a River: It rises in the *Appennine* Mountains, and, after running some time through a small Vale situated between two Hills, spreads in the great Plain of *Lombardy*, and then empties itself into the *Po*. On the Right of these two Hills, down to the Banks of the River, the Allied Army was posted: This Side was preferred by the Generals to the Left, where the Enemies were to march, to prevent them from turning towards *Parma*; because that City, being full of different Factions, was suspected by the Duke of *Milan*; and more so since the King had obtained Leave from the *Florentines*, even from the Time he was at *Asti*, to take *Francesco Secco* into his Service, whose Daughter was married into the noble and powerful Family of the *Torelli* in the *Parmesan*.

THE HISTORY OF

THE Camp of the Allies was fortified with Ditches and Ramparts, and abounded with Artillery, under which the *French* could not avoid passing in their Way to *Asti*, for as they were to cross the *Taro* near *Fornuovo*, that River only would separate the two Armies. The *French* had but little Rest all that Night; for the *Italians* ordered the *Stradiotti* to ride up to their very Camp, and they were so disturbed with these Alarums that they were often calling to Arms. There fell also a sudden and very heavy Rain, mixed with terrible Lightening, and many horrible Thunderbolts, which seemed to prognosticate some fatal Calamity: But the *French* were much more terrified than the *Italians*, not only for being in the midst of Mountains and Enemies, and in a Place where any unlucky Accident happening they had no Hopes of saving themselves, and therefore, labouring under much greater Difficulties, had greater Reason to fear, but also because it was thought that whenever Heaven manifested its Anger, it was on some grand Occasion, and therefore seemed to

to point rather to that Part where was present the Person of a King of such great Power and Dignity. The Morning following, which was the 6th of July, the *French* began at Day-break to pass the River. The greatest Part of the Artillery preceded the Van, which the King supposed was to bear the greatest Shock, and had therefore placed in it Three Hundred and Fifty *French* Lances, *Trivulzi* with his own Hundred Lances, and Three Thousand *Swiss*, who were the Sinews and Hopes of the Army; and with them on Foot *Engilberto*, Brother to the Duke of *Cleves*, and the Bailiff of *Dijon*, who had enlisted them: To these he added Three Hundred Archers on Foot, some Cross-Bows of his Guards on Horseback, and the best Part of his Foot. Next to the Van followed the main Body, in the midst of which the King was seated, in full Armour, on a mettlesome Courser; near him rode *Monf. de la Tremouille*, an Officer of great Renown in the Kingdom of *France*, who with his Counsel and Authority was to rule that Part of the Army:

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The Rear-Guard came after, conducted by Count *de Foix*, and lastly the Carriages. But *Charles*, still desirous of Peace, whilst his Troops were in Motion, ordered again *Argenton* to treat with the *Venetian* Proveditors. But on the Motion of the *French*, all the *Italian* Army having put themselves in Arms, and the Generals being determined to fight, they were so far advanced that the Vicinity of the two Armies did not admit of Time, nor so much as a Place for a Conference.

THE light Horse began to skirmish, and the Artillery to roar from all Parts, all the *Italians* were come out of their Camp, and were extending their Squadrons along the Banks of the *Taro* in Order of Battle. The *French*, notwithstanding, continued their March, Part on the stoney Beach, for the Plain between was too narrow to contain their Squadrons, and Part on the Declivity of the Hill. As soon as the Van of the *French* was advanced over against the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of *Mantoux* with a Body of Six Hundred Men at Arms; who were the Flower of the Allied Army,

a large Band of *Stradiotti*, some light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, crossed the River beyond the Rear of the *French*, having before left on the Banks *Antonio da Montefeltro*, a natural Son of *Federigo* late Duke of *Urbino*, with a numerous Squadron, with Orders to pass and come to his Assistance if called, or to reinforce others on Occasion. He commanded another Body of light Horse, as soon as the Action began, to attack the Enemy in Flank, and the rest of the *Stradiotti* to pass the River at *Fornuovo*, and assault the Baggage, which for want of Men, or by Advice, as was reported, of *Trivulzi*, was left exposed without any Guard to any one that attacked it. At another Place Count *Galeazzo*, in order to fall on the Van, crossed the *Taro* with Four Hundred Men at Arms and Two Thousand Foot; amongst the first was a Company belonging to Don *Alfonso d'Este*, whose Father would not permit him to go in Person to the Army; he left also Count *Annibale Bentivoglio*, with Two Hundred Men at Arms, on the Banks, with Orders to pass the River and come to his Succour, if he should be called.

A. D. The Proveditors insisted that two large
 1495. Companies of Men at Arms, and a Thousand Foot, should be left to guard the Camp, as a Body of Reserve against all Accidents.

Battle of
 the *Taro*.

THE King observing so great a Force falling on his Rear, of which his Officers had not been aware, turned his Back to the Van, and with the main Body marched to the Assistance of his Rear, advancing in so much Haste at the Head of one of his Squadrons, that when the Battle began he found himself in the Front of the Enemy, and was amongst the first that engaged. Some have related that the Marquis of *Mantoua* passed the *Taro* in a Sort of Disorder, occasioned by the Height of the Banks, and by Trees, Stumps and Shrubs, with which the Sides of Torrents are commonly overspread; and others add, that his Foot, by these Difficulties, and the Swelling of the River in the last Night's Rain, entered the Battle too late, and that some did not pass at all. But be that as it will, the Assault given by the Marquis was very resolute and furious, and was answered

swered with equal Fierceness and Valour. *A. D.*

The Squadrons from all Parts in charging mingled one among another, contrary to the Custom of the *Italians*, who used to fight Squadron against Squadron, and when one was tired, or began to give way, another took its Place, without coming to a general Engagement till the last, when altogether formed a large Squadron; so that most commonly a Battle lasted a whole Day, without any great Slaughter, and often, Night coming on, the Armies separated, without any certain Victory on either Side. The Lances being broke with the Fall of many Men at Arms and many Horses in both Armies, every one began with the same Fury to make Use of Iron Maces, Ponyards, and other short Arms; the Horses also with Kicks, Bites, and Shocks, fighting as well as the Men. In the Beginning of the Fight the *Italians* certainly gave very signal Proofs of their Courage, and the Marquis in particular, who, being followed by a stout Band of young Gentlemen, and by the Spezzate Lances (these are Soldiers of Valour, not belonging to any particular Company, and
in

A. D. in separate Pay) encountering all Danger,
 1495: omitted nothing that became a most courageous General. The *French* sustained with great Bravery this fierce Attack, but being overpowered by so great an Inequality of Numbers, they manifestly began to give way, not without endangering the King; for the Bastard of *Bourbon*, though he fought very gallantly, was taken Prisoner within a few Yards of him; and as his Majesty had imprudently brought himself into imminent Peril without a proper Guard, or with such Order as was necessary for so great a Prince, the Marquis thought he had as fine an Opportunity of taking the King, and, therefore, with many of his People, made all his Efforts to approach him, against whom *Charles*, with a Few about him, shewing great Boldness, defended himself nobly, tho' more by the Fierceness of his Horse than by their Assistance. In the midst of so great a Danger, he did not omit what Fears most commonly suggest in such difficult Situations; for finding himself abandoned by almost all his People, he had recourse to heavenly Assistance, and made a Vow to *St. Dennis* and *St.*

St. Martin, reputed particular Protectors A. D. 1495.
of the Kingdom of *France*, that if he got
safe with his Army into *Piedmont*, as soon as
he reached his own Country, he would visit
and bestow very costly Gifts on the Churches
dedicated to their Names, one near *Paris*,
the other at *Tours*; and that every Year
he would, with the most solemn Feasts and
Sacrifices, give Testimony of his Requests
being granted by their Intercession. After
making these Vows, his Vigour increasing,
he fought with more Courage than his
Strength or Constitution would permit.
But the King's Danger had so much in-
flamed those who were the nearest, that
they all flew to cover their royal Master
with their Persons, and kept back the
Italians, till the main Battle, which had re-
mained behind, came up, a Squadron of
which charged so fiercely on the Enemy's
Flank, that it repressed pretty much their
Fury; as did also the Death of *Ridolfo*
Gonzaga, Uncle to the Marquis of *Man-*
toua, a very experienced Officer; in whose
Face, whilst he was acting the Part of an
excellent Captain, comforting and rallying
his Men, and running from Place to Place
where

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where he saw the least Disorder, on lifting up his Helmet, a *Frenchman* thrust a Dagger: He fell from his Horse, and in the Confusion and Tumult, amidst so close a Multitude of very mettlesome Horses, could receive no Help, and falling amongst Men and Horses was rather suffocated by the Crowd, than killed by the Enemy. He was the more to be pitied, because both in the Council the Day before, and that very same Morning, judging it imprudent to put so much in the Power of Fortune, without any urgent Necessity, against the Inclination of his Nephew, he had advised to avoid a Battle.

THE Fight, by so many different Accidents, varying, and no Advantage of any Importance appearing on either Side, it was more than ever doubtful who would conquer; so that Fear and Hope being in an Equilibrium, they fought with incredible Ardor on both Sides, each Individual presuming the Victory depended on his particular Strength and Valour. The *French* were animated by the Presence and Danger of their Sovereign: For that Nation

tion was ever remarkable for adoring their ^{A. D.} Kings, and revering them as something Di- ^{1495.} vine, and they were in such a Situation that they had no Hopes of Safety but in a Victory. Several Motives also encouraged the *Italians* ; the Hopes of Plunder, the Bravery and Example of their General, their prosperous Success in the Beginning of the Action, and the great Number of their Army, which assured them of being always succoured, which was not the Case with the *French* ; for they were all either engaged, or expected every Moment to be attacked. But, as every one knows, in all human Actions the Power of Fortune is very great, and in military Affairs more particularly so, but immense, infinite, and inexpressible in Battles ; where an Order not well understood, or ill executed ; where Rashness, or a vain Word even from the meanest Centinel, and innumerable other Accidents, not possible to be foreseen, or prevented by a General, often unexpectedly arise, and, in a Moment, transfer the Victory to those who seemed conquered. Thus Fortune, at this Instant, consistent with her usual Custom, effected what the
 Courage

A. D. Courage of Men, or the Force of Arms,

1495.

hitherto had not been able to obtain : For the *Stradiotti*, who were sent to attack the Carriages, as related, began to seize them without any Difficulty : And some attended to carry off Mules, some Horses, some Harness, to the other Side of the River. At the Sight of so much Plunder, not only the *Stradiotti* who were appointed to attack the *French* in Flank, but even those who were engaged in the Battle, seeing their Comrades returning to their Quarters loaded with Spoils, incited by a Thirst of Lucre ran towards the Carriages to partake of the Prey, and their Example was followed by Numbers of both Horse and Foot, who in whole Companies, on the same Account, quitted the Battle. Wherefore the *Italians*, not only deprived of their intended Succour, but the Number of the Combatants being diminished by so great a Disorder, and *Antonio da Montefeltro* not moving because, by the Death of *Ridolfo Gonzaga*, who had the sole Charge to call him in case of Need, none sent for him, were obliged to give way.

THE

THE *French* now began to gain Ground apace, and nothing more supported the *Italians*, who visibly declined, than the Valour of the Marquis, who courageously fighting, still stopped the Force of the Enemy, animating his Men with his Example, and with his ardent Speeches, encouraging them rather to lose their Lives than their Honour. But it was not possible for a Handful of Men to resist such Numbers, which multiplied continually upon them from all Parts. So, after a great many had been killed and wounded, especially of the Marquis's own Regiment, they were obliged to fly in order to repass the River, which being swelled not only by the Rains that had fallen in the Night, but also by a Storm with Hail and Thunder, which arose while they were in the Action, the Passage was rendered very difficult. The *French* briskly pushed them to the Banks with great Violence, and with perpetual Slaughter, without making any Prisoners, and without stopping a Minute to strip or plunder. On the contrary Voices were continually heard, crying, Companions!

Remem-

A. D. Remember *Guignegate* ! *Guignegate* is a
 1495. Village in *Picardy*, near *Terouenne*, where
 in the latter Years of *Lewis XI.* the *French*
 Army, already victorious over *Maximilian*,
 in a Battle against the King of the *Romans*,
 was afterwards routed by breaking their
 Ranks, and falling to Plunder.

WHILST the Battle was fighting with
 so much Bravery on this Side, the Van of
 the *French* presented itself with such Reso-
 lution against Count *Gajazzo*, who with
 Part of his Horse was come to attack them,
 that the *Italians* were greatly terrified,
 especially when they saw none of their Peo-
 ple move to their Assistance, and they were
 broke, as one may say, by themselves ; for
 after some few had been killed, and
 amongst the rest *Giovanni Piccinino*, and
Galeazzo da Corregio, they fled back to-
 wards their main Squadron. Marshal
Gié observing that, besides the Count's
 Squadron, there was on the Banks, on the
 other Side of the River, another Colonel
 with his Men at Arms in Order of Battle,
 would not permit a Pursuit ; for which
 he was afterwards by some commended
 for

for his Prudence, by others, who, perhaps, ^{A. D.} considered less the Reason, than the Event, ^{1495.} rather taxed with Cowardice than praised for Circumspection. For no one doubted but that, if he had followed the Enemy, both the Count and his Colonel would have fled, and filled the rest, on that Side the River, with such a Terror, that it must have been almost impossible to prevent their Flight. For when the Marquis of *Mantoua*, after the rest had fled, with a good Party of his Men, whom he kept close and in as good Order as he was able, had repassed the River, he found those on the Banks in Confusion, every one employed in saving himself and his Baggage; and the great Road, that leads from *Piacenza* to *Parma*, full of Men, Horses and Carriages, moving towards *Parma*. This Disorder was partly remedied by the Marquis's Presence and Authority, who immediately set about recalling and putting them in Order; but more so, by the Arrival of Count *Pitigliano*, who, during the universal Confusion on both Sides, taking an Opportunity to make his Escape, fled to the *Italian* Army, and raised their Spirits by

A. D. 1495. comforting and assuring them that the Enemy was more disheartened and in greater Fear than themselves. It was generally believed that, had it not been for his Assurances, the whole Camp would with great Terror have broke up then, or, at farthest, the Night following. All the *Italians* retired into their Camp, excepting those who, terrified at the Confusion and Tumult (as on such Occasions will happen) or frightened at the Swelling of the River, had fled, and were dispersed in different Places, many of whom, falling in with *French* Parties, were cut to Pieces.

THE King, with the rest of the Army, joined his Van, and consulted his Officers about passing the River immediately, and attacking the Enemy's Camp. *Trivulzi* was for it, as was *Camillo Vitelli*, who had sent his Regiment after those who were marching on the Enterprize of *Genoa*, and, with a few Horse, had followed the King in order to be present at the Battle. But it was more earnestly insisted on by *Francesco Secco*, who desired it might be observed that the high Road, which appeared

peared at a Distance, was full of Horse and Foot, who must either be the Enemy flying to *Parma*, or having first fled now returning to their Camp. But the Passage of the River was dangerous, and the Army being fatigued, Part in fighting and Part by standing on their Arms, it was resolved, at the Instance of the *French* Officers, to encamp: So they went above a Mile from the Place where they had fought, to a Villa called *Medesa*, situated on a Hill, and there formed their Camp, without any Division or Order, and with no small Inconveniency, for a great Number of their Carriages had been plundered by the Enemy.

SUCH was the Battlé between the *French* and *Italians* on the River *Taro*, memorable for its being the first that, after a long Series of Years, had been fought in *Italy* with Slaughter and Bloodshed; for hitherto very few were killed in a Battle. The Loss of the *French* was not Two Hundred Men; but that of the *Italians* was above Three Thousand, amongst which were Three Hundred Men at Arms, *Rinuccio*
 B b 2 *Farnese*,

A. D. *Farneſe*, a Commander of the *Venetians*, and
1495. many other Persons of Note. *Bernardino*

del Montone, another Commander of the *Venetians* was, by the Blow of a Mace on his Helmet, left for Dead. He was an Officer more regarded for the Fame of *Baccio del Montone*, his Grandfather, one of the first who gave Lustre to the *Italian* Soldierry, than for his own Condition or Merit. So much Bloodshed seemed the more astonishing to the *Italians*, as the Battle did not last above an Hour, and was fought with short Arms, little Use being made of the Artillery. Each Side laboured to obtain the Glory of the Victory, and the Honour of the Day ; the *Italians* asserting their Camp and Carriages were safe, while the *French* lost many of theirs, and amongst other Things some of the King's Pavilions had been carried off. They also boasted that the *French* would have been cut to Pieces, had not their own People, who had been appointed to reinforce the Battle, fallen to Plunder ; which indeed was not contradicted by the *French*. The *Venetians*, attributing to themselves the Glory, ordered all over their Dominions,
and

and particularly at *Venice*, Illuminations, ^{A. D.} Fire-works, and other Marks of Joy. ^{1495.}
 Nor were there wanting afterwards private Persons who imitated the public Example : For on the Tomb of *Marchione Trevifano*, in the Church of the *Minims*, after his Death, were engraved these Words : *On the River Taro he fought prosperously against Charles King of France.* The Victory, nevertheless, was universally adjudged to the *French*, on account of the great Disproportion of the Slain, of their driving the Enemy on the other Side the River, and because their Passage was no longer obstructed, which was all they contended for, the Battle being fought on no other Account.

THE Day following the King remained in the same Camp, and, thro' the Means of *Argenton*, some Parley was had with the Enemy, and a Truce was agreed on till Night. On one hand, *Charles* wanted to secure a safe Return ; for he knew that many of the *Italians* had not engaged ; and seeing them keep their Camp, he thought so long a March through the

A. D. Dutchy of *Milan*, with the Enemy in his

^{1495.} Rear, would be dangerous : On the other, he was at a Loss how to resolve for Want of good Counsel ; it being his Custom to despise the best, and often take the worst, in his Deliberations. The *Italians* were no less undetermined ; for though they were at first greatly terrified, yet the same Night the Battle was fought some Proposals were made, and greatly encouraged by Count *Pitigliano*, for assaulting in the Night the Camp of the *French*, who were lodged without any Order or Fortification : But this Counsel, after some Debates, was rejected by many as too dangerous. It was currently reported all over *Italy*, at that Time, that the Troops of *Lodovico Sforza* had his secret Orders not to fight : For the *Venetian* Army being so powerful in his Dominions, it was thought he might have had a greater Dread of their Victory than of that of the *French*, to whom he wished neither Victory nor Defeat, and that, to secure himself against all Events, he had a Mind to keep his Army entire ; which occasioned the Loss of the Battle to the *Italians*. This Opinion was supported

supported by the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and by the *Venetian* Commanders, to keep up their own Reputation, and was agreeable to all those who desired to have the *Italian* Arms in good Estimation. But I heard a Person of great Gravity, who was in *Milan* at that Time, and in the Secret of Affairs, confute this Report with great Warmth. He affirmed that almost all *Lodovico's* Forces were at the Siege of *Novara*, and that those he had at the *Taro* were insignificant as to the gaining the Victory, which the Allied Army would have obtained if their own Disorders had not hurt them more than the Want of a greater Number of Men. For many of the *Venetians* did not engage, and though Count *Gajazzo* sent only a Part of his Troops to the Battle, and those with a seeming Unwillingness, that might proceed from his knowing that the Van of the *French* was too strong, and therefore it was too dangerous to trust the Whole to Fortune. Those who well knew the Count would have sooner wondered to see him undertake a bold Action than a cautious one. Besides, *Sforza's* Troops were not altogether useless; for, though they did

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not fight, they prevented the Van from reinforcing the King, which put him under a Necessity of sustaining the whole Weight of the Battle, with the smallest and weakest Part of his Forces, to the great Peril of his own Person. Nor is this Opinion, if I mistake not, founded more on Authority than on Reason; for if *Lodovico* was so inclined, would he not have ordered his Generals to dissuade any Obstruction to the Passage of the *French*, considering that, if they were routed, his own Troops would have equally suffered by being so near the Enemy, though they had not joined them in the Battle? And by what Kind of Reasoning, Consideration, or Experience of Things could he promise himself that in the Battle Fortune would be so equal, that the King should neither defeat, nor be defeated? Nor would the Battle have been fought against the Advice of the Duke's Generals; because the *Venetian* Troops, sent into that State only for his Safety and Security, would not have disagreed with his Officers.

CHARLES

CHARLES the next Morning decamped with his Army before Day-break, without Sound of Trumpet, to conceal, as much as possible, his Departure. Nor did the Allied Army follow him that Day; which indeed was not in their Power had they intended it, on account of the Waters in the River, for more heavy Rains had fallen that Night, and made it impassable the best Part of the Day. Near Sun-set only Count *Gajazzo*, though not without Danger, the Torrent running very strong, crossed the River with Two Hundred light Horse, and followed the Enemy, who kept the high Road to *Piacenza*: He har-
rassed them pretty much, especially the Day following: But the *French*, although fatigued, went on in good Order, being plentifully supplied with all Necessaries by the neighbouring Villages, partly out of Fear of being plundered, and partly by the Means of *Trivulzi*, who, riding before the light Horse for this Purpose, prevailed on some with Threats, and others with his Authority, which was great in that State, and exceedingly so with the *Guelfs*. The
Day

A. D. 1495 } Day after the Departure of the *French* the Allied Army followed them; but none of the Commanders, and particularly the *Venetian* Proveditors, cared to run any farther Risk, and therefore kept at a Distance, without giving them the least Disturbance, which they might easily have done. For the second Day the *French* encamped on the other Side the River *Trebbia*, a little beyond *Piacenza*; but, for Conveniency of Quarters, Two Hundred Lances, the *Swiss*, and most of the Artillery, lay on this Side the River, between the *Trebbia* and the City of *Piacenza*. That Night the Rain swelled the Waters to such a Degree that, notwithstanding all Endeavours, it was not possible for either Horse or Foot to pass till late the next Day, nor then without a great deal of Difficulty, even when the Waters began to fall. Yet they were not attacked, either by the Army, which kept at a Distance, or by Count * *Gajazzo*, who had

* *Giovio* accuses Count *Gajazzo* and his Brother *Fracassa* of Treachery, alledging they might have greatly molested the *French*, instead of which they supplied them with Provisions at *Tortona*, where they kissed the King's Hand.

had entered *Piacenza* to keep the People from revolting, which he suspected, and not without some Reason. For if *Charles* had followed the Counsel of *Trivulzi*, and with displayed Colours proclaimed *Francesco*, the young Son of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, in all Probability that would have produced a Revolution in the Dutchy. So agreeable was the Name of the Person they looked upon as their legitimate Sovereign, so odious that of the Usurper, and of such Importance the Credit and Friendship of *Trivulzi*! But the King, intent only on getting forwards, would not give Ear to any thing of that Kind, and continued his March with all Speed, under no small Distress after the first Days for Want of Provisions, because as he proceeded he found the Towns better guarded, *Lodovico Sforza* having a good Number of Horse, and Twelve Hundred German Foot, detached from the Siege of *Novara*, Part in *Tortona*, under *Gasparo da San Severino*, surnamed *Fracassa*, and some in *Alessandria*.

THE Hand. *Bembo* says only that the Count, by keeping at so great a Distance from the Enemy, gave them an Opportunity of getting away without Loss.

THE HISTORY OF

THE *French*, after passing the *Trebbia*, were harrassed in the Rear by Count *Gajazzo*, who had added to his light Horse One Hundred *German* Foot of the Garrison of *Piacenza* : For the *Venetian* Proveditors, admonished by the Risque they had run at the *Taro*, refused to send him, as he required, the Remainder of the light Horse, and Four Hundred Men at Arms. But the King, when he was near *Alessandria*, turned higher up towards the Mountain, where the River *Tanaro* is shallower, and without Loss of Men, or any other Damage, in Eight Days March came to the Walls of *Asti*. *Charles* entered the Town, and encamped his Army in the Field, with an Intent of augmenting it, and remaining in *Italy* until he had relieved *Novara*. The Confederates, who had followed him as far as the *Tortonese*, finding it would be to no Purpose to follow any farther, joined *Lodovico's* Forces in the Neighbourhood of *Novara*, which was in great Want of Provisions ; for the Duke of *Orleans* and his People had not only neglected to supply it, as they might have done

done in Abundance, in that very plentiful Country, but not considering the Danger till the Remedy was too late, without any Frugality, permitted his Men profusely to consume what Provisions were found in the Place. A. D. 1495.

ABOUT this Time the Cardinals and the Officers, who had been sent against *Genoa*, returned to the Camp, that Expedition having miscarried. For the Fleet, having on its first Arrival taken the Town of *Spetie*, from thence directed its Course to *Rapalle*, which was also easily taken. But a Squadron of eight light Gallies, and a Caraque, with two *Biscayan* Barks, sailed from the Port of *Genoa* in the Night, and landed Seven Hundred Men, who, without any Difficulty, took the Suburbs of *Rapalle*, with the *French* who were in it; and then approaching the *French* Fleet, that was retired into the Bay, after a long Engagement, took or burnt all their Vessels; which, with the taking the Admiral Prisoner, rendered those Places more renowned for this Victory than for that of the preceding Year, when the *Aragonians*

A. D. ^{495.} *ans* were routed. Nor was this Loss of the *French* repaired by those who were sent by Land : For after marching along the Eastern *Riviera*, as far as the Valley of *Bisagna*, and Suburbs of *Genoa*, they found themselves deceived in their Expectations that the Town would rise ; so on hearing of the Loss of their Fleet, they returned in a Sort of Flight, over those craggy and rocky Mountains, to the Vale of *Pozzeveri*, which lies on the other Side of the City, and from thence, though much increased by the Country People, and by others sent by the Duke of *Savoy*, they proceeded with the same Haste towards *Piedmont*. This Body of Troops would, without Doubt, have been routed and put to Flight, if those in *Genoa* had not been afraid of falling out, lest in their Absence the Party of the *Fregosi* should attempt innovations. The Cavalry under *Vitelli* at *Chiaveri*, hearing the bad Success of those they were marching to join, returned in a disorderly Manner, and not without Danger, to *Sarzana* : And, excepting *Spetie*, all the Towns of that *Riviera*, which had been seized by the Exiles, as also in the
Western

Western *Riviera*, the City of *Ventimiglia*, ^{A. D.}
 which had been taken by *Pol Battista Fre-* ^{1495.}
goso and other Malecontents, returned of
 their own Accord under the Obedience of
 the *Genoese*.

ALL this while there were as great Agita-
 tions in the Kingdom of *Naples* as in *Lom-*
bardy, but with more Variety of Fortune.
 For *Ferdinando*, after taking *Reggio*, at-
 tended to the Recovery of the neighbour-
 ing Places, having with him about Six
 Thousand Men, comprehending the Vo-
 lunteers who came from *Sicily*, and the
Spanish Horse and Foot under *Gonsalvo*
Ernando, one of the *Agbilar* Family of
Cordova, a Man of great Courage, who had
 learned Experience in the Wars of *Gra-*
nada. On his first Arrival in *Italy*, by the
 boasting *Spaniards* he was called the
Great Captain, to denote the supreme Pow-
 er he had over them ; which Name af-
 terwards, by his Acquisition of several sig-
 nal Victories, and great Skill in military
 Discipline was universally confirmed and
 perpetuated to him. This Army, which
 had put a great Part of the Country in
 Motion,

A. D. Motion, was met at *Seminara*, a Place
1495. near the Sea-Side, by *Aubigni*, with the
French Men at Arms who were left to
defend *Calabria*, and by the Horse and
Foot sent him by the Lords of the Coun-
try attached to the *French* Interest. When
they came to engage, *Aubigni's* regu-
lar Troops got the better of the Irre-
gulars and Unexperienced: For not only
the *Italians* and *Sicilians* in *Ferdinando's*
Army were a Parcel of Men hastily levied,
but the *Spaniards* also were Troops inex-
pert and raw. Yet for some Time they
fought bravely, because the Valour and
Authority of their Commanders, who
omitted no Part of their Duty, kept up
for some time the Spirits of their Men,
who, on all other accounts, were inferior to
the Enemy, *Ferdinando* particularly distin-
guished himself; for fighting in a Manner be-
coming his Valour, after having his Horse
killed under him, he would doubtless have
been slain or taken, if *Giovanni di Capua*, Bro-
ther to the Duke of *Termini*, who, having
been his Page from his tender Years, was
beloved by him in the Flower of his
Age, had not dismounted from his Horse,
and

and placed him on it, and, by a very memorable Example of the most distinguished Faithfulness and Love, exposed his own Life, for he was killed on the Spot. *Gonsalvo* fled over the Mountains to *Reggio*, and *Ferdinando* to *Palma*, that lies on the Sea Coast near *Seminara*, where he embarked on board his Fleet, and went to *Messina*. But, not in the least dejected by his Adversities, he resolved to try his Fortune anew ; for he was not only satisfied of the Affection of the whole City of *Naples*, but also of the Disposition of many of the principal Nobility and People, who privately desired him to return. Wherefore, not to give Time for his Friends thus disposed to grow cool on account of his Rout in *Calabria*, with great Speed he got together not only the Gallies that he had brought from *Ischia*, and the four his Father *Alfonso* went off with, but also those which came from *Spain*, and whatever other Vessels he could procure from the Towns and Barons in *Sicily*.

HE would not be retarded for want of Forces to put on board, but since he could not get a sufficient Number for so great an Enterprize, he was under a Necessity to help himself more by Shows than by Realities. He sailed then from *Sicily* with Sixty Ships of the Line, and Twenty smaller, attended by *di Gaggio*, *Ricajensio*, a *Catalan*, Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, a Man of great Courage, and Experience in Naval Affairs, but with so small a Number of fighting Men, that in most of the Vessels there were hardly any others but such as were necessary to work the Ships. But tho' *Ferdinando's* Forces were small, the Favour and good Will of the People were great : For he no sooner appeared off *Salerno*, than that City, and all the Towns along the Coast of *Malfi* and *Cava* erected his Standard. He then sailed on, and hovered two Days off *Naples*, expecting in vain a Commotion in that City : For the *French* ran immediately to Arms, and posting strong Guards in all proper Places put a Stop to the Rebellion, which was ready to break out; and they might have extricated themselves from all Danger,

ger, had they followed with Resolution the good Counsel given them by some of their Party, who, suspecting how ill the *Arago-*
nian Fleet was provided with Soldiers, persuaded *Monpensier* to fill the *French* Vessels that were in Port with Soldiers and Men that were fit to fight, and attack them. *Ferdinando*, after the third Day, despairing of any Change in the City, made off for *Ischia* ; but the Conspirators, considering that, on account of their Plots being in a manner discovered, the Cause of *Ferdinando* was become their own, privately assembled, and, resolving to make a Virtue of Necessity, secretly dispatched a small Boat to recall him, desiring that to make the Attempt easier, and to give greater Courage to those who intended to rise in his Favour, he would land all or Part of his Men. The King sailed back to *Naples* the Day following, which happened to be the same Day the Battle was fought on the Banks of the *Taro* : He approached the Shore, to land his Men at the *Maddelena*, a Mile distant from the City, where the little River *Sebeto* runs into the Sea ; a River which deserves rather the

A. D.
1495.

A. D. Name of a Brook, and would hardly have
 1495. been distinguished by any Name at all, if
 the *Neapolitan* Poets had not thought proper to give it one. *Monpensier*, as ready to proceed with Rashness, where Caution was necessary, as he had been with Fear, where Courage the Day before was requisite, left the City almost destitute of Troops to oppose the Enemy's Landing ; wherefore the *Neapolitans*, rejoicing at an Opportunity which they could never have expected, immediately took up Arms, and gave Notice of their Rising by tolling the Bell of the *Carmelites* near the Walls of the City ; and that being answered by all the other Bells the People soon gathered from all Quarters, took Possession of the Gates, and cried out aloud *Ferdinando !* * This sudden Tumult alarmed the *French*, who not thinking it adviseable to remain between the Rebel City and *Ferdinando's* Troops, and fearing they should not be able to return into the City the same Way they came out, marched round the Walls, up a high, long, and very difficult Hill, intending

* The *Neapolitans* gave Notice to the King of their Rising by displaying a white Sheet. *Giorgio*.

ing to get into the Town through the Gate that was very near *Castel Nuovo*. *Ferdinando*, in the mean time, entered *Naples*, and *Horses* being provided for himself and some of his Followers, he rode amidst them all over the Town, to the inexpressible Joy of all the *Neapolitans*, who accompanied him with repeated Shouts. The Women were never tired in covering him from their Windows with Thyme and sweet-scented Waters, and even many of the better Sort of them ran into the Streets to embrace him, and wipe off the Sweat from his Face; but at the same time nothing was neglected that was necessary for the Defence of the Town. The Marquis of *Pescara*, with the Soldiers who entered with *Ferdinando*, and the *Neapolitan* Youth, employed themselves in barricading and fortifying the Ends of the Streets, where they apprehended the *French* from *Castel Nuovo* might attack the Town. As soon as *Monpensier* had got together his Men in the Piazza before the Castle, he made all his Efforts to advance into the inhabited Quarters of the Town; but was so molested by the Cross-bows

A. D.

1495.

Ferdinando
in *Naples*.

A. D. 1495. and small Artillery, and found all the Streets so well secured, that Night approaching he ordered his Troops to retire into the Castle, leaving, between useful and unuseful, at least Two Thousand Horses in the Square, as there was neither Room nor Provisions for them in the Castle. *Yves d'Alegre*, reckoned a brave Officer, *Antonello* Prince of *Salerno*, and many other Persons of Distinction, both *French* and *Italians*, shut themselves up with *Monpensier*; and tho' for several Days they made frequent Skirmishes in the Square and about the Port, and fired on the City with the Artillery, yet being always repulsed, they gave over all Hopes of recovering the Town with their present Force.

Monpensier shuts himself up in the Castle.

THE Example of *Naples* was immediately followed by *Capua*, *Aversa*, the Castle of *Mondragone*, and many neighbouring Towns; and the greatest Part of the Kingdom seemed ripe for a Change: But the People of *Gaeta*, at the Sight of some of *Ferdinando's* Vessels that made towards the Shore, having taken up Arms with

with more Resolution than Strength, were ^{A. D.} defeated with great Slaughter by the *French* ^{1495.} Garrison, and in the Heat of the Victory the whole Town was pillaged. At the same time the *Venetian* Fleet approached *Monopoli*, a City of *Puglia*, and after landing the *Stradiotti*, and a good Body of Foot, attacked it by Land. *Piero Bembo*, Commander of one of the *Venetian* Gallies, was killed by a Cannon Ball; nevertheless the Town at last was taken by Storm, which so discouraged the *French* Governor that he soon surrendered the Castle; and *Pugliano* also was given up by Composition.

Ferdinando, in the mean time, was bent on getting Possession of *Castel Nuovo*. and *Castel dell' Uovo*, and hoped to reduce them soon by Famine; for Provisions were scarce, considering the Number of Soldiers that were therein; and, to render them still scarcer, he was constantly employed in making himself Master of the adjacent Posts. The *French*, to secure their Fleet, which was in great Danger in the Port, brought it between the Tower of *San Vin-*

A. D. centio, *Castel dell' Uovo*, and *Pizzifalcone*,
 1495. which Places were in their Hands : This
 Fleet consisted of Five Ships, Four light
 Gallies, a small Galliot, and a Galleon.
 They kept Possession of the Part behind
Castel Nuovo, where the royal Gardens
 were situated, and extended themselves to
Capella, and fortifying the Monastery of
 the *Croce*, they made Excursions as far as
Piedigrotta and *San Martino*. *Ferdinando*
 having taken and fortified that Spot of
 Ground made Use of for Horse-Races,
 and made a covered Way along the *Inco-*
ronata, took Possession of Mount *Sant'*
Ermo and the Hill of *Pizzifalcone*, in order
 to block up the Citadel, which was built on
 the Top of the Hill, and held out for the
French, because by taking it he might from
 that high Place annoy the Enemy's Fleet.
 The Troops of *Ferdinando* attacked those in
 the Monastery of the *Croce* ; but receiving
 great Damage in their Approaches from
 the Artillery, and despairing to take that
 Place by Force, they endeavoured to get
 it by a Plot, which afterwards proved fatal
 to the Contriver : For a *Moor* in the Gar-
 rison

rison having deceitfully promised the Marquis of *Pescara*, who had been lately his Master, to let him into the Place, and for that End having enticed him one Night to come and parley on the Top of a Ladder planted against the Walls of the Monastery, in order to settle the Time and Manner of entering the Place the same Night, he was by a double Treachery of the *Black* shot thro' the Throat by an Arrow from a Cross-Bow, and killed on the Spot.

A. D.
1495.

The
Death of
the Mar-
quis of
Pescara.

THE Desertion first of *Prospero*, and then of *Fabritio Colonna*, was of no small Importance to *Ferdinando's* Affairs. Tho' the Time they had enlisted themselves to the King of *France* was not expired, yet immediately after the Recovery of *Naples* they entered into *Ferdinando's* Service, alleging for their Excuse, that their Salary had not been duly paid, and that *Virginio Orsini* and Count *Pitigliano* were highly caressed by the King, with too little Regard to their own Merit; a Reason not sufficient to counterballance the Greatness

Prospero
and *Fa-
britio* re-
volt to
*Ferdinan-
do*.

of

A. D. 1495. of the Favours they had received from him. But who knows whether that which ought in Reason to have been a Bridle to refrain them, was not a Spur to act the contrary; because the greater the Rewards of which they were in Possession, so much the more powerful, perhaps, was their Desire to preserve them, since they saw the Affairs of the *French* now on the Decline?

THE Castle being thus blockaded, and the Sea at present secured, the Want of Provisions daily increased, and the only Hopes the Besieged had left were the Expectation of Succours by Sea from *France*. For as soon as *Charles* was arrived at *Asti*, *Peron de la Basque* was dispatched to *Villafrauca*, a Port contiguous to *Nizza*, with Orders for a Fleet to be sent out immediately with Two Thousand between *Gascons* and *Swiss*, and to carry with them Provisions. *Monf. d'Arbàn* was both General and Admiral; a good Land-Officer, but little versed in Sea Affairs! He sailed to the Isle of *Porezzo*, where he discovered *Ferdinando's* Fleet, which consisted of Thirty Sail

Sail of Ships, and two large *Genoeſe* Vef-^{A D.}
 fels; at the Sight of which he tacked ^{1495.}
 about and went off, and was purſued to
 the Iſle of *Elba*, but, with the Loſs only
 of a *Biſcayan* Veſſel, he got into *Livorno*,
 ſo terrified, that his Authority was not ſuf-
 ficient to prevent the greater Part of his
 Men from landing, and going to *Piſa*.

AFTER this Retreat *Monpenſier* and the
 reſt, finding they could not ſubſiſt for
 Want of Proviſions, and having ſuſtained a
 Three Months Siege, agreed to return into
Provence, if they were not ſuccoured
 within Thirty Days, on Condition that
 the Effects and Perſons of all thoſe who
 were in the Caſtle ſhould be ſecure, and
Yves d'Alegre, and Three more were de-
 livered as Hoſtages for the Performance of
 this Convention. So ſhort a Time could
 not admit of any Succour, but from the
French in that Kingdom: Therefore
Monſ. de Perſi, with the *Swiſs* that he
 commanded, and Part of the *French*
 Lances, accompanied by the Prince of
Biſignano, and many other Barons, moved
 towards *Naples*. *Ferdinando*, aware of
 this,

A. D. this, sent Count *Matalona* to *Eboli*, with
1495. an Army, the greater Part of which was
got together in haste, and consisted chiefly
of his Friends and Adherents, which, tho'
much superior in Number, at the Sight of
the *French* at the Lake of *Pizzolo* near
Eboli, turned their Backs and fled, without
offering to fight; yet as they were not much
pursued, they got with little Loss, first to
Nola, and then to *Naples*. *Venantio*, the
Son of *Giulio Verano*, Lord of *Camerino*,
was taken Prisoner on this Occasion. The
Conquerors marched on to relieve the
Castle, and had got so much Credit by
this last Victory, that *Ferdinando* was in-
clined once more to abandon *Naples*: But
resuming Courage at the Intreaties of the
Neapolitans, who, as much out of Fear
on account of their Rebellion, as of Af-
fection to his Person, pressed and prevailed
on him to stay, he posted himself at
Capella, and, to prevent the Enemy's Ap-
proach to the Castle, perfected a large
Trench, already begun, from the Moun-
tain *Sant' Ermo* to *Castel dell' Uovo*, and
lined with Artillery and Soldiers all the
Hills, as far as *Capella*, and beyond it.
Wherefore

Wherefore the *French*, though, by the Way A. D.
1495. of *Salerno*, they were come to *Nocera* thro' *Cava*, and by the Mountain of *Piedigrotta* had got into *Chiaia* near *Naples*, yet found all Places so well defended, and *Ferdinando* so resolute, and were so annoyed by the Artillery from Mount *Pizzifalcone* (so famous for the Delicacies and profuse Expences of *Lucullus*) which commands *Castel dell' Uovo*, that they durst not advance, or come near *Capella*; nor was it possible for them to remain in the Post they were in; for Nature, that has bountifully bestowed on that Coast all other Delights, had not provided it with fresh Water. This obliged them to retire sooner than they intended, and to march towards *Nola*, leaving at their Decampment two or three Pieces of Artillery, and Part of the Provisions they had brought to supply the Castle. *Ferdinando*, leaving the Castle besieged, encamped his Army in the Plain of *Palma* near *Sarni**.

MONPENSIER,

* At this Place there was a Battle fought between *Marcellus* and *Hannibal*.

A. D.

1495.

Castel Nuovo
vo sur-
renders.

MONPENSIER, by the Departure of *Perfi*, despairing of any Relief, after leaving Three Hundred Men in *Castel Nuovo*, which was a sufficient Number both for the Provisions and for the Defence, and a Garrison in *Castel dell' Uovo*, embarked in the Night, with Five and Twenty Hundred Men, on his Fleet, and went to *Salerno*. *Ferdinando* complained greatly of this Proceeding, alledging that *Montpensier* ought not to have gone off with his Men from *Castel Nuovo*, before the Time of surrendering was expired, without giving up both the Castles; and he was disposed, as the Rigour of the Laws of War permitted him, to revenge this Injury and Breach of Faith with the Blood of the Hostages, when he found that the Garrisons refused to surrender at the Time stipulated. But after they had stood out above a Month beyond the Term, and were almost famished, those of *Castel Nuovo* surrendered on Condition the Hostages should be released. And a few Days after the Garrison of *Castel dell' Uovo*, for the same Reason, agreed to surrender the first

first Day of Lent, in case they were not
relieved before that Time.

A. D.

1495:

ABOUT this Time died at *Messina* *Al-* Death of
fonso of *Aragon*, whose Glory and Fortune, *King Al-*
which had rendered his Name so illustri- *fonso.*
ous in all Parts when Duke of *Calabria*,
were converted into the highest Infamy and
Misery after he ascended the Throne of
Naples. It is reported that, a little before his
Death, he begged of his Son to permit him to
return to *Naples*, where the Hatred, former-
ly conceived against him, was almost chang-
ed into Benevolence ; but that *Ferdinando*,
swayed more, as is customary with Man-
kind, by the Ambition of Reigning, than
by Paternal Réverence, should return this
Answer, no less pungent than witty, That
the best Course for him would be to stay
where he was till he had so settled the King-
dom that he might never more be oblig-
ed to abandon it. *Ferdinando* also, to
strengthen his Interest by a closer Alliance
with the King of *Spain*, obtained the Pope's
Dispensation to marry his Aunt *Giovanna*,
the Daughter of *Ferdinando* his Grand-
Father,

A. D. Father, and of *Giovanna*, Sister to the said
 1495. King.

Siege of
Novara.

WHILST the Sieges were carried on against the Castles of *Naples*, with Variety of Accidents in the Manner related, those in *Novara* were very much straitened ; for the Duke of *Milan* had a powerful Army before it, and the *Venetians* were so earnest in assisting him, that it was thought they had seldom been less sparing of their Money than on this Occasion *. Hence, in a short Time, were assembled in the Camp of the Allies Three Thousand Men at Arms, Three Thousand light Horse, a Thousand *German* Horse, and Five Thousand *Italian* Foot : But the principal Strength of this Army consisted in Ten Thousand Lance-Knights, the Name by which the *German* Foot were commonly known. These were mostly in the Pay of the Duke of *Milan*, and were intended to oppose the *Swiss* : For the *Italian* Foot dreaded their very Name, being mightily
 sunk

* The *Venetians* expended One Hundred Thousand Golden Ducats a Month to support this War. *Alessandro Benedetti.*

funk in Courage and Reputation since the ^{A. D.} Coming of the *French*. The *Germans* had ^{1495.} many brave Commanders ; the chief amongst them was *George Petraplan*, a Native of *Austria*, who some Years before had served under *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, and established his Reputation at the Siege of *St. Omer*, a Town of *Picardy*, which he took from the *French*. Nor had the *Venetian* Senate only taken Care to send a great Number of Troops to this Siege, but farther, to put greater Spirits in their Soldiery, had promoted the Marquis of *Mantôua* from Governor to be Captain General of the Army, in Honour to the Valour which he had shewn in the Battle of the *Taro* ; and, as an Example of great Gratitude for ever to be recorded, they not only increased the Pay of those who behaved gallantly in that Action, but gave Pensions or other Provisions to the Sons of many of the Slain, and Portions to their Daughters.

WITH this powerful Army the Siege was carried on ; for the Confederates, who were determined mostly by what *Lodovico*

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proposed, had resolved, by his Advice, not to run the Risque of a Battle, unless they were forced; but to fortify themselves in proper Places about *Novara*, and prevent its being supplied with Provisions, hoping that as there was a Scarcity in the Town, and great Quantities were wanting, that it could not hold out many Days: For, besides the Inhabitants and Peasants who had resorted thither, the Duke of *Orleans*, between *French* and *Swiss*, had above Seven Thousand chosen Men in it. Therefore *Galeazzo da San Severino*, giving over all Thoughts of taking by Force a Town defended by such Numbers, encamped with the Duke's Forces at *Mugne*, a Place very convenient to hinder Provisions coming from *Vercelli*. And the Marquis of *Mantoua*, with the *Venetians*, immediately on his Arrival, took several Towns Sword in Hand; and a few Days after the Castle of *Brione*, which was of some Importance, and put Troops into *Camariano* and *Bolgari*, that lay between *Novara* and *Vercelli*; and, the better to prevent the Entrance of Provisions, distributed the Army in
proper

proper Posts about *Novara*, and fortified all their Quarters.

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ON the other Hand, the King of *France*, to be nearer *Novara*, had removed from *Asti* to *Turin*, from whence he made frequent Visits to a Lady at *Cberi*, with whom he was fallen in Love ; yet Gallantry did not take off his Attentions from providing what was necessary for the War, but he was continually pressing the March of his Troops from *France*, and with no less Eagerness soliciting and waiting the Arrival of the Ten Thousand *Swiss*, whom the Bailiff of *Dijon* was gone to enlist, being fully determined, as soon as they had joined the Army, to make all possible Efforts to relieve *Novara*; but without them he would not venture to attempt any Thing of Consequence. For the *French* Nation, though very potent in Cavalry, and noted for its great Quantity of Artillery, and Skill in managing it, yet was very weak in Infantry; because the Use of Arms and military Exercises having been encouraged only amongst the Nobility, the vulgar Sort, and the People in general,

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thro' a long Difuse of Arms, had no longer the antient warlike Spirit of that Nation, but addiſted themſelves to Trades, and to the Profits ariſing from them in Times of Peace. To encourage this Diſpoſition, ſeveral of the laſt Kings had thought fit to diſarm the People, and endeavoured to wean their Inclinations from military Exerciſes, induced to it by various Inſtances of popular Conſpiracies and Rebelions in that Kingdom. The *French*, on this Account, could not truſt to the Valour of their own Infantry, but went timorouſly to War, if they were not provided with a ſufficient Body of *Swiſs*; which Nation, ever unconquered and fierce, had greatly increaſed its Reputation for theſe Twenty Years laſt paſt: For being attacked by *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who for his Courage and Power was a very great Terror to *France* and to all his Neighbours, in a few Months they gave him three Deſeats, in the laſt of which he was found dead amongſt the Slain; but whether killed in the Battle or Flight, or how he came by his Death, was never particularly known. It was therefore on account

count of their Courage, and because the *French* had no Sort of Emulation or Difference with them, or any Reason, for their own Interests, to be jealous of them, as they were of the *Germans*, that they enlisted no other foreign Foot but *Swiss*, and made use of them in all important Wars. And well knowing how difficult and dangerous it was to succour *Novara*, surrounded by so vast an Army, and fight against such a Body of *German* Foot, who had the same Discipline as the *Swiss*, they never expected their Arrival with more Anxiety than at this Juncture.

THE City of *Vercelli* is situated half-way between *Turin* and *Novara*: It was formerly a Member of the Dutchy of *Milan*, but yielded by *Filippomaria Visconti*, during the long War in which he was engaged with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, to *Amadeo* Duke of *Savoy*, to induce him to break his Alliance with them. Neither Side as yet had sent Soldiers into this Town; for the Dutchess, Mother and Guardian to the young Duke of *Savoy*, was quite *French* by Inclination, but would not

A. D. declare openly for the King till he was
 1495. more powerful, in the mean time amusing
 the Duke of *Milan* with smooth Speeches,
 and flattering Hopes. But when the King,
 who had now a numerous Army, removed
 to *Tuxin*, a City of the same Dutchy, she
 consented to the Entrance of *French*
 Troops into *Vercelli*, which, on account of
 its Situation, increased greatly his Hopes
 of relieving *Novara* when all his Troops
 were arrived. The Confederates indeed
 began to be doubtful of Success, and,
 therefore, in order to lay the better Foun-
 dation for Proceeding maturely amidst these
 Difficulties, *Lodovico Sforza* went in Per-
 son to the Army, accompanied by *Beatrice*
 his Wife, and constant Companion, as well
 in Affairs of Moment as in Diversions.
 At his Presence, and, as reported, princi-
 pally by his Advice, after many Debates,
 it was unanimously concluded by the Ge-
 nerals that, for the greater Security of the
 whole Army, the *Venetians* should join
 the *Sforzescan* Troops at *Mugne*, after leav-
 ing sufficient Garrisons in all the Places
 about *Novara* which might favour the
 Siege: That *Bolgari* should be abandoned,
 for

for being only Three Miles distant from *Vercelli*, if the *French* should attack it with a great Force, they should be obliged either shamefully to lose it, or, contrary to what had been settled, put the whole Army in Motion to relieve it: That in *Camariano*, which lay Three Miles from the Quarters at *Mugne*, the Garrison should be augmented, and the whole Camp fortified with Ditches, Ramparts, and a great Quantity of Artillery; and that other Resolutions should be taken every Day, in which they were to be directed according to the Motions of the Enemy; and, lastly, not to omit cutting down the Trees, and destroying every thing, up to the Walls of *Novara*, that might be of any Use to the Besieged, or their Horses, of which there were a vast Number in the Town. These Things being settled, and a general Review made of the Army, *Lodovico* returned to *Milun*, to be at hand to make the necessary Provisions that from Time to Time would be required. And that the spiritual Authority and Arms might be assistant to the temporal Forces, the *Venetians* and *Sforza* prevailed on the

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A. D. Pope to fend one of his Mace-Bearers to
 1495. *Charles*, commanding him in Ten Days to
 quit *Italy* with all his Army, and appoint-
 ing him another short Time to withdraw
 his Troops from the Kingdom of *Naples*;
 and, in case of Disobedience, citing him
 to appear in Person at *Rome*, under the
 Penalty of spiritual Punishments, accom-
 panied by the Threats usually denounced
 by the Church on such Occasions. This
 was a Step formerly taken by antient Popes
 in dangerous Junctures. Thus we read
 that with no other Weapons *Adrian*, the
 first of that Name, obliged *Desiderio*, King
 of the *Lombards*, who was marching with
 a powerful Army to create Disturbances in
Rome, to return to *Pavia*, after he had ad-
 vanced as far as *Terni*. But in our Days
 that Reverence and Majesty, which the
 Sanctity of the Lives of those Popes had se-
 cured them, being wanting, it was not at all
 likely that different Manners and Examples
 should produce the same Effects. *Charles*,
 therefore, treated this Order with Scorn,
 and made answer, That since his Holiness,
 at his Return from *Naples*, did not think
 proper to wait for him at *Rome*, whither
 he

he was going, in a devout Manner, to kiss A. D.
 his Feet, he wondered very much he 1495.
 should be so desirous of seeing him now :
 However, in Obedience to his Commands,
 he should apply himself seriously to force
 his Way to him ; and, that he might not
 take so much Trouble in vain, he begged
 he would not be out of the Way.

CHARLES, about this Time, concluded
 a new Treaty at *Turin* with the *Florentine*
 Ambassadors, but not without a strong
 Opposition from the same Ministers who
 formerly had shewn themselves no Friends
 to that Republic, and who unluckily had
 now a greater Occasion to contradict them.
 For after the *Florentines* had recovered the
 Castles which lay on the Hills near *Pisa*
 taken from them in *Charles's* Return, and
 obtained *Pontefacco*, to which they had
 laid Siege, on Condition that the Soldiers
 should retire in Safety, contrary to this
 Capitulation, they had put to the Sword
 almost all the *Gascons*, as they marched
 out intermixed with the *Pisans*, and after-
 wards exercised many Instances of Inhu-
 manity against the dead Bodies. This
 Barbarity

A. D. 1495. Barbarity was committed against the Will of the *Florentine* Commissaries. who with great Difficulty saved Part of the Men. But some *Florentine* Soldiers, when Prisoners in the *French* Army, had been very ill used, and took this Opportunity to gratify their Revenge. The Enemies of the Republic in the King's Court made a Handle of this Action to prove the innate Enmity of the *Florentines* to the *French*. This Affair retarded some Time, but, however, did not hinder the Conclusion of the Treaty; which at last was finished, but not out of any Regard to former Promises or Oaths, but from an urgent Necessity of Money, and of succouring the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Articles were, That, without any Delay, all the Towns and Forts of the *Florentines* which were in the King's Hands should be restored; they obliging themselves, within Two Years, on a valuable Consideration, to deliver up, if the King should require it, *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana* to the *Genoese*, provided the City of *Genoa* should return under his Majesty's Command: That on this Consideration their Ambassadors should pay
down

down the Thirty Thousand Ducats agreed A. D. 1495.
upon in the Capitulation of *Florence*, but the Republic should have Jewels in Pledge for the Restitution of this Money, if their Castles, under any Pretext whatsoever, were not restored: That when they were given up they should lend the King Seventy Thousand Ducats; for the Payment of which the GENERALS of the Kingdom of *France* should be bound: This is the Title given to Four of the King's Ministers who collect the Revenue of the whole Kingdom: That they should send this Money into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, in the King's Name, distribute it amongst the royal Forces, not excepting the *Colonnas*, if they had not made their Peace with *Ferdinando*; for though there was a strong Report of *Prospero's* Desertion, yet no authentic Account was arrived: That, provided they were not engaged in a War in *Tuscany*, they should send Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms into the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, if they had no other War but what concerned *Montepulciano*, they should send thither *Vitelli* with the Troops he had under his Command in the
Pisan,

A. D *Pisan*, who should not be obliged to stay
 1495. any longer than the End of *October*:
 That the *Pisans* should have a general In-
 demnity, and the *Florentines* should im-
 mediately set about restoring their Effects,
 and give some Encouragement for their
 Improvement in Arts and Sciences: That,
 for a Security of the Performance of these
 Articles, they should deliver Six Hostages,
 of the principal Citizens of *Florence* at the
 King's Choice, who should remain for a
 certain Time at his Court. As soon as
 the Treaty was signed, the Thirty Thou-
 sand Ducats paid down, and the Jewels
 delivered in Pledge, Letters and Orders
 were dispatched to the King's Governors
 to restore the Forts, and the Thirty Thou-
 sand Ducats were immediately sent into
Swisserland for the new Levies.

ALL this while the Hardships and Dif-
 ficulties in *Novara* daily increased, but
 great was the Resolution of the Soldiers,
 and much greater the Obstinacy of the
Novarese, from a Consciousness of their
 Rebellion, in defending themselves; for
 Provisions were become so scarce, that they
 were

were almost famished ; and though *Orleans* A. D. 1495. had sent out of the Town the useleſs Mouths, that was not a ſufficient Remedy. The *French* and the *Swiſs*, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch Inconveniencies, began daily to ficken ; the Duke himſelf laboured under a Quartan Ague, and with reiterated Meſſengers and Letters preſſed the King not to prolong the Succours ; but as he had not as yet got together a ſufficient Force, he could not ſo eaſily, and as ſoon as was neceſſary, give them Relief. The *French*, however, attempted ſeveral Times in the Night to throw in Proviſions, and eſcorted them with large Parties both of Horſe and Foot ; but they were always diſcovered, and obliged to retire, and ſometimes with no ſmall Loſs : And the Marquis of *Mantoua*, to prevent all Entrance of Proviſions, attacked the Monastery of *San Franceſco*, which lies near the Walls of *Novara*, and having taken it, he put in it a Guard of Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thouſand *German* Foot. The taking this Poſt greatly eaſed the Army of its Fatigues, for it kept open the Road through which all their
own

A. D. own Provisions passed, and stopped the
 1495. Way from the Gate which leads to Mount
Biandrana, the easiest Passage into *Novara*.
 The next Day he took the Bastion which
 had been erected by the *French* in the
 Suburb of *San Nazzaro*, and the Night
 following got Possession of the whole Sub-
 burb, and the other Bastion contiguous to
 the Gate, in which he put a Guard, and
 then fortified the Suburb, where Count *Pi-
 tigliano*, who had been hired with the
 Title of Governor by the *Venetians*, was
 wounded near his Girdle by a Musket-
 Shot, which had very like to have proved
 mortal.

By this Progress of the Enemy, the
 Duke of *Orleans* finding he could no long-
 er defend the other Suburbs which, on his
 first retiring to *Novara*, he had fortified,
 ordered them to be set on Fire the Night
 following, and drew off all his Men, at-
 tending wholly to the Defence of the Ci-
 ty, keeping up his Spirits in this Extremi-
 ty of Hunger with the Hopes of a speedy
 Relief; for the *Swiss* were daily arriving,
 and the *French* Army, after passing the
 River

River *Stesia*, and putting a Garrison in *Bolgari*, encamped within a Mile of *Vercelli*, in order to wait there for the *Swiss*; and it was believed that, on their Arrival, *Novara* would be succoured. But this must have proved a difficult Task; for the *Italians* were deeply entrenched in a strong Situation, the Road from *Vercelli* to *Novara* was full of Water, the Ditches deep and wide all over the Country, and *Camariano*, which was fortified by the Allies, lay between their Camp and *Bolgari* possessed by the *French*. By reason of these Difficulties, neither the King nor his Troops seemed eager to move; but yet if the whole Complement of the *Swiss* had arrived sooner, he would certainly have risked a Battle, the Event of which must have been very dubious on both Sides. Wherefore each being sensible of their Danger, there were not wanting secret Overtures of Peace between the King and the Duke of *Milan*, tho' with little Hopes of Success, on account of the Jealousies they entertained of one another; and because each, the more to keep up his Reputation, would seem indifferent. But
Chance

A. D. Chance opened a more expeditious Way
 1495. to bring Affairs of so much Importance to
 a Conclusion.

THE Marchioness of *Monferrato* died at this Time, and a Dispute arising about the Guardianship of her young Son between the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the Marchioness's Brother *Constantino*, 'who was one of the ancient Lords of *Macedonia*, which had been seized many Years before by *Mahomet* the *Ottoman*, the King, desirous to prevent Commotions in that State, in order to settle the Regency according to the Inclination of the People, had sent *Argenton* to *Casul Cervagio* ; and the Marquis of *Mantoua* at the same time had sent one of his Domestics to condole for the Death of the Marchioness. These two, in conversing, fell on a Discourse concerning the Benefit that would accrue to both Parties, if a Peace could be procured. The Conversation became so serious that *Argenton* was prevailed on to write to the *Venetian* Proveditors, reminding them of what he began to negotiate with them before at the *Taro*. They listened to him,
 and

and communicating their Sentiments to the Duke of *Milan's* Generals, at last it was agreed to apply to the King, who was come to *Vercelli*, and desire he would depute some of his Ministers to meet theirs, in order for a Conference in some convenient Place. The King consented, and the next Day the Deputies assembled at a Place between *Bolgari* and *Camariano*. The *Venetians* chose the Marquis of *Mantoua* and *Bernardo Contarini* the Proveditor of their Stradiotti; the Duke of *Milan*, *Francesco Bernardino Visconti*, and the King of *France* sent the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, the Prince of *Orange* (who had lately passed the Mountains, and by the King's Commission had the principal Charge of the Army) the Marshal *de Gié*, *Pienes* and *Argenton*. The Deputies met several times, and Day after Day some of them passed and repassed between their respective Armies with the Result of their Conferences. The most material Point in which they disagreed was concerning the City of *Novara*: The King made no Difficulty of restoring it, but desired it might be done with the least Offence to

A. D. 1495. his Honour. He insisted it should be put into the Hands of one of the *German* Officers in the *Italian* Camp, who should receive it in the Name of the King of the *Romans*, as Liege Lord of the Dutchy of *Milan*: But the Allies insisted that it should be given up without any Condition. This Difficulty, and some others, could not be removed with the Expedition wished by the Besieged, who were reduced to the last Extremity; it being computed that, through Famine and the Sicknefs occasioned by it, about Two Thousand of *Orleans's* Men had perished. At last a Truce was made for Eight Days, and Leave given for the Duke of *Orleans* and the Marquis of *Saluzzo* to repair with a small Attendance to *Vercelli*, bur on their Parole to return to *Novara* with the same Retinue, if the Peace was not concluded. As the Duke was to pass through the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, for his Security, went to a Fort near *Bolgari*, in the Power of the Count *de Foix*. The Soldiers in *Novara* would not have permitted the Duke to leave the Town, if he had not assured them, on his Word, that he would
return

return in Three Days, or that through his Means they should be allowed to come out; nor would they permit the Marshal *de Gié*, who was come to *Novara* to conduct the Duke out of the City, to take away his Nephew, but kept him in Pledge. They had by this Time consumed not only the Provisions that generally serve for the Preservation of human Life, but also the Flesh of unclean Animals, and other nauseous Foods, from which Men in that Extremity know not how to abstain.

As soon as the Duke of *Orleans* came to the King, the Truce was prolonged for a few Days, on Condition that all the *French* should quit *Novara*, and leave it in the Possession of the Townsmen, who were to take an Oath not to deliver it to either Party without their mutual Consent: That in the Castle there should remain a Company of Thirty *French* Foot, who should be daily supplied with Provisions from the *Italian* Camp. The *French* accordingly marched out, and were escorted by the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and *Galeazzo da San Severino* till they arrived where they were

A. D. safe, but were so feeble and emaciated by
 1495. Hunger, that many died a little after they
 were arrived at *Vercelli*, and those that
 survived were rendered useless during this
 War.

Arrival of
 20,000
Swiss in
 the *French*
 Camp.

AT this Time the Bailiff of *Dijon* arrived with the Remainder of the *Swiss*; and though he had demanded no more than Ten Thousand, yet he could not help bringing Twenty; for the News being spread of the Arrival of *French* Money, the People, that flocked from all Parts, made up that Number, and would be enlisted. One Half of these joined the Camp at *Vercelli*, and the other was quartered at Ten Miles Distance; for it was not thought quite safe that so many of that Nation should be together in the same Army: Had they arrived some Days sooner, it is probable the Treaty might have been interrupted: For, besides these, the King's Army consisted of Eight Thousand *French* Foot, Two Thousand *Swiss* of those who had served at *Naples*, and a Body of Eighteen Hundred Lances. But as Things had gone so far, and *Novara*
 was

was evacuated, the Treaty went on, tho' *A. D.*
the Duke of *Orleans*, with many others, ^{1495.}
was strongly against it. Every Day the
French Deputies, who were in the *Italian*
Camp, attended the Duke of *Milan*, who
was come in Person to be nearer at hand to
treat of Matters of such Importance, tho'
always in the Presence of the Ambassadors
of the Allies. At last the Deputies re-
turned to the King with the ultimate
Conditions on which Peace might be
made, which were as follows: That there
should be a perpetual Peace and Friend-
ship between the King and the Duke of
Milan, but without any Prejudice to the
Duke's other Alliances: That his Ma-
jesty should give his Consent that the
Citizens of *Novara* should deliver up
to him the Town, and his Men should
evacuate the Castle: That *Spetie* and all
other Places taken in this War by either
Side should be restored: That the King
might equip at *Genoa*, his Fief, what Ves-
sels he pleased, and have the Benefit of
all military Conveniencies of that City,
provided they were not employed in Fa-
vour of the Enemies of that State; and

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for the Security of this Article, the *Genoese* should give certain Hostages : The Duke of *Milan* should procure him the Restitution of the Vessels taken at *Rapalle*, and the Twelve Gallies detained at *Genoa*, and at his own Expence fit him out at present two large *Genoa* Ships (which with four of his own, already equipped, he designed to send to the Succour of the Kingdom of *Naples*) and the Year following be obliged to have in Readiness Three more in the same Order : That he should give a free Pass to what Troops the King should send through his Dutchy in their Way to *Naples*, on Condition that no more than Two Hundred Lances at a Time should pass ; and in case the King returned himself, the Duke should accompany him with a certain Number of Men : That the *Venetians* for two Months might have the Liberty of acceding to this Peace, and if they did should withdraw their Fleet from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and give no farther Assistance to *Ferdinando* : If afterwards they violated their Engagements, and the King on that Account declared War, the Duke should assist him, and might keep Possession

session of whatever Part of the *Venetian* A. D.
 Territory he could make himself Master : 1495.
 That *Lodovico*, within the Month of
March ensuing, should pay Fifty Thousand
 Ducats to the Duke of *Orleans*, for the
 Expences he had incurred during the
 Siege of *Novara*, remit Eighty Thousand
 Ducats of the Money he lent the King,
 when he first passed through his Domi-
 nions, and allow a further Term for the
 Payment of the Remainder : That *Tri-
 vulzi*'s Estate should be restored to him,
 and his Outlawry reversed : The Bastard
 of *Bourbon* taken at the *Taro*, and *Meaux*
 at *Rapalle*, and all other Prisoners should
 be set at Liberty : The Duke should order
Fracassa to depart from *Pisa*, with all the
 Troops he had lately sent thither, as also
 those of the *Genoese*, and should give no
 Obstruction to the *Florentines* in the Re-
 covery of their Forts : That within a
 Month the *Casselletto* of *Genoa* should
 for Two Years, the Garrison being main-
 tained at the common Expence, be put
 into the Hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*,
 who was come to the *Italian* Camp at the
 Desire of both Parties ; but he should take

A. D. an Oath to deliver it any Time within that
 1495. Term to the King of *France*, in case the
 Duke of *Milan* did not perform the Articles of this Treaty: *Lodovico*, on the signing of the Peace, should give Hostages to remain with the King, till the *Castelletto* was delivered to the Duke of *Ferrara*.

THESE Articles being referred to the King by his Ministers concerned in the Treaty, his Majesty laid them before his Council, where, amidst a Variety of Sentiments, *M. de la Tremouille* spoke to the following Purport :

Speech of
Tremouille
 in Council

“ IF the Subject under Debate concerned only the making new Additions to the Glory of the Crown of *France* by warlike Exploits, I should perhaps be less forward, O magnanimous King, to advise that your Royal Person should be exposed to new Dangers, tho’ your own Example ought to have counselled you to the contrary. For, with no other Motive than the Thirst after Glory, you resolved, contrary to the Advice and to the Intreaties of almost your whole Kingdom, to pass the last
 Year

Year into *Italy*, in order to make a Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Success of which Enterprize being crowned with great Honour and Renown, it is most manifest that the Question at present is not whether you ought to refuse the Opportunity of acquiring new Honour and Glory, but whether you ought to despise, and give over for lost what you have with so much Cost, and so great Danger acquired, and convert all this Honour into the greatest Ignominy and Disgrace, and will yourself contradict and condemn your own Resolutions. For you might, without any Reflection, have remained unactive in *France*, nor could that which now will be imputed by all the World to Timidity and Cowardice, be then ascribed to any other Motive than Negligence, and to an Age addicted to Pleasures. Your Majesty might, soon after your Arrival at *Asti*, with less Shame have returned back to *France*, and shown that you were not concerned for the Preservation of *Novara*: But now, since you have stopped here with your Army, and publicly declared that it was with an Intention to raise the Siege of *No-*

vara,

A. D.

1495.

A. D. *1495.* *vara*, and for that End have caused so many of the Nobility to come from *France*, and, at an intolerable Expence, hired so great a Number of *Swiss*, who can doubt but that your own Glory and that of your Kingdom will be converted into eternal Disgrace if the Siege be not raised? But we have still a more powerful Motive, if in the Breasts of magnanimous Kings there can possibly reside any greater and more ardent Incentive than a Thirst after Fame and Glory, or at least we have more necessary Reasons. For our Return into *France*, and consenting to lose *Novara* by Capitulation, is the same in Effect as losing the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, and abandoning to Destruction so many brave Officers and *French* Nobles, who remain for Defence of that Country, in Hopes, confirmed by your royal Word, of speedy Succours, and will be thrown into Despair of ever being relieved, as soon as they shall understand that you lie on the Frontiers of *Italy* with so great an Army, and so formidable a Force, under Awe of the Enemy. Success in War depends in a great measure, as every one knows, on Reputation, and

and when this declines the Valour of the Soldiers declines with it, the public Credit is diminished, and the Revenues allotted to support the War are annihilated. On the contrary Side the Courage of the Enemy increases, their Doubts are removed, while on the other Hand all the Difficulties are infinitely augmented. When therefore our Army, by such melancholy News, abates of its Vigour, and the Enemy increases in Forces and Reputation, who can doubt but that we shall soon hear of a Rebellion of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, and soon after, that our Army is defeated, and that an Enterprize, begun and conducted with so much Glory, will in the End yield us no other Fruit than Loss and inestimable Disgrace? For whoever persuades himself that this Peace is made with a sincere Intention, shews that he little considers the present Posture of Affairs, and that he knows but little of the Nature of those with whom it is negotiated, it being easy to conclude that, as soon as we have turned our Backs to *Italy*, not one Thing contained in these Articles will be observed, but that, instead of our receiving the stipulated

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stipulated Succours, Assistance will be sent to *Ferdinando*, and those very Troops which will boast of having made us shamefully fly out of *Italy*, will march for *Naples* to enrich themselves with our Spoils. Such a Disgrace would be more tolerable, if there were any probable Reason for doubting of the Victory. But how is it possible for any one to entertain a Doubt of this Nature, who considers the Greatness of our Army, with the Advantages of the Country around us, and remembers that, when we were tired with the Length of the March, straitened for want of Provisions, very few in Number, and in the Midst of an Enemy's Country, we yet fought with such Fierceness and Resolution against a very numerous Army on the *Taro*, which River ran that Day with great Violence, more swelled with the Blood of our Enemies than with its own Waters, that we opened ourselves a Passage with the Sword, and, for eight Days together, rode on victorious through the Dutchy of *Milan*, which was all against us. We have at present double the Number of Horse, and a much greater Number of *French* Foot than we had

had at that Time, and instead of Three *A. D.*
Thousand we have Twenty-Two Thou- ^{1495.}
sand *Swiss*; whereas our Enemies, tho'
reinforced with some *German* Foot, may
be said to be but little increased in Compa-
rison of us. For their Cavalry is much
the same, they have the same Commanders,
and having been once beaten by us with
so great Loss, they will return to fight un-
der a Terror. Besides, are the Rewards
of the Victory perhaps so small that they
ought to be despised by us, and not rather
so considerable that they deserve our striv-
ing to obtain them tho' with some Danger?
For we fight not only for the Preservation
of the great Glory we have acquired,
for the Preservation of the Kingdom of
Naples, for the Safety of so many of our
Officers and Nobles, but for the Empire of
all *Italy*, which will be at Stake in the Field,
where if we come off Conquerors, it offers
itself as the Price of our Victory. For what
other Troops, what other Armies have the
Enemies left? They have their whole
Force, and all the Generals that they could
get together contained within their Camp.
One Ditch that we may pass, one Rampart
that

A. D. that we may force, will put us in Possession of so vast an Acquisition as the Dominion and Riches of all *Italy*, together with the Means of revenging ourselves for our manifold Injuries; which are two Incentives that used to fire the Spirit even of the Lazy and Pusillanimous. And if they should not be able to move our warlike and fierce Nation, we shall certainly have Reason to say that we are forsaken by Courage rather than by Fortune, who presents us with an Opportunity of gaining in so small a Field, and in so few Hours, Prizes so great and honourable, that greater and more honourable would exceed the Bounds of our own Wishes."

IN contradiction to this Speech of *Tremouille* the Prince of *Orange* spoke as follows.

Answer of the Prince of *Orange*. "If our Affairs, Most Christian King, were not reduced within such a narrow Compass of Time, but were at such a Pass as to give us Leisure to conduct our Forces with Prudence and Industry, and we were not necessitated, if we intend to continue the

the War, to proceed impetuously, and A. D.
 contrary to all the Precepts of the military 1495.
 Art, I also would be one of those who
 would advise rejecting an Agreement:
 For, to speak the Truth, there are many
 Reasons why we should not accept it,
 since it cannot be denied that the Con-
 tinuation of the War would be very ho-
 nourable, and highly conducive to the
 Success of our Affairs in *Naples*. But the
 Condition to which *Novara* and its Castle
 are reduced, where there is not a Day's Pro-
 vision left, constrains us, if we intend to
 relieve it, to attack the Enemy without
 Delay. And even if we suffer it to be lost,
 with a Design of transferring the War into
 some other Part of the State of *Milan*, the
 Winter Season, which now approaches,
 is very inconvenient for making War in
 those low and watry Places. The Con-
 dition of our Army, which from the Na-
 ture and so great a Multitude of *Swiss*, if
 it be not soon put in Action, may prove
 more pernicious to ourselves than to the
 Enemy; the extraordinary Scarcity of
 Money, which renders it impossible for us
 to maintain ourselves for any long Time,
 lay

A. D. lay us under a Necessity, if we accept not
495. of the present Articles, to strive for bringing
the War to a speedy Conclusion ; and that
can be done no other Way than by directly
marching up and attacking the Enemy,
which, considering their Condition and
that of the Country, is a Step so dangerous
that *Tremouille* himself must acknowledge
that to proceed in this Manner would be
the highest Temerity and Imprudence.
For their Camp is so strong both by Nature
and Art, and they have had so long a Time
to intrench and fortify it ; the circumjacent
Places, which they have garrisoned, are so
commodious for their Defence, and so well
fortified ; and the Country, from the Inclosures
of the Ditches, and the Impediments of the
Waters so difficult for Cavalry, that whoever
puts himself on his March in full Array in
order to come up with them, and does not
make his Approaches Step by Step, by dislodging
them Place after Place from their fortified
Avenues, and gain Ground upon them, as we
say, Inch by Inch, seeks to run himself into
very great and unavoidable Danger. For by
what Reasoning,

soning, by what Rules of War, by what Example of excellent Generals, ought we to run violently on attacking so numerous an Army, in so strong a Camp, furnished with such a Quantity of Artillery? It would be necessary, unless we would leave the Event wholly to Chance, to dislodge them from their strong Situation, by taking Possession of some Post, that might command their Camp, or intercept their Provisions. But nothing of this, as far as I can judge, is to be expected but by proceeding maturely, and with Length of Time, which, every one knows, we are not in a Condition to wait: Not to mention that our Cavalry is neither so numerous, nor so full of Spirits, as some perhaps persuade themselves, many, as is well known, being sick, many without Permission returned into *France*, and the greater Part of those who remain tired with the long Service, and more desirous to go into Quarters than to fight: And the great Number of *Swiss*, who are the principal Strength of our Army, is perhaps as prejudicial to us as a small Number would be useless. For what Man, who is ex-

A. D.

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perienced in the Nature and Manners of that Nation, and knows how difficult it is to keep so large a Body of them in Order, will be Security for them that they shall not raise some dangerous Tumult, especially if the War be protracted to a considerable Length, when on account of the Payments, in which they are insatiable, and of other Accidents, a thousand Occasions might arise to put them out of Humour? Thus must we be at a Loss whether their Assistance will serve us as a Remedy or as a Poison; and under this Uncertainty how can we settle our Counsels, with what Spirit can we resolve on any bold and grand Enterprize? None doubts that Victory would be more honourable, and more conducive to the Defence of the Kingdom of *Naples*, than Agreement. But in all human Actions, and especially in Wars, it is often requisite to accommodate Resolutions to Necessity, and not out of a Desire to obtain a Part which is too difficult, and almost impossible, to expose the Whole to most manifest Danger: Nor is it less the Part of a valiant General to perform the Office of a prudent than of a courageous

courageous Commander. The Enter-^{A. D.}
prise of *Novara* has not been your princi-^{1495.}
pal Undertaking, but only indirectly
concerned your Majesty, since you pretend
no Right to the Dutchy of *Milan*: Nor
did you leave *Naples* with a View to make
a Stop, and carry on a War in *Piedmont*,
but to return into *France*, in order to re-
establish your Finances and your Military,
that you might with the greater Vigour
be enabled to succour the Kingdom of
Naples. That Country in the mean time,
by the Succour of the Fleet which is sailed
from *Nizza* with the Troops commanded
by *Vitelli*, and by the Auxiliaries and Mo-
ney of the *Florentines*, will defend itself so
well, that it may with Security wait the Ar-
rival of those powerful Supplies which
your Majesty will take care to provide when
you are once returned into *France*. I will
not affirm, with some, that the Duke of
Milan will observe this Treaty; but as he
and the *Genoese* are to give Hostages, and
the *Castelletto* is to be put in your Hands,
according to the Tenor of the Articles, you
will at least have some Security, some
Pledge. Nor will it also be much to be

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wondered at, if the Duke, to avoid being the first who will feel the Weight, of your Arms, should desire to live in Peace. Besides, it is the Nature of Leagues, where many Parties are concerned, not to have that Firmness and that Harmony which might exclude all Hopes of its Dissolution, or the Disunion of some Members from the rest, among whom every small Breach that we might make, every little Gap we see, will enlarge itself to make Way for our easy and secure Victory. To conclude, I advise your most Christian Majesty to an Agreement, not because it is advantageous and laudable in itself, but as it is the Part of wise Princes, in difficult and troublesome Deliberations, to approve as easy and agreeable that which is necessary, or at least attended with less Difficulty and Danger than any of the rest."

THE Duke of *Orleans* passed his Censures on this Speech of the Prince of *Orange*, and with such Sharpness, that both he and the Prince, transported with violent Passion, proceeded from hot to abusive Words, and *Orleans* gave the

the other the Lye before all the Council. A. D.
The Inclinations, however, of most of the 1495.
Members, and of almost the whole Army, were for accepting Peace, the Desire of returning into *France* being so strong in all, and in the King as much as the rest, as to suppress all Sense of the Danger of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of the Disgrace they would incur by suffering *Novara* to be lost before their Eyes, and by departing out of *Italy* on Terms which, for the Uncertainty of their Performance, were highly iniquitous. This Resolution was promoted with so much Heat by the Prince of *Orange*, as to create in many a Suspicion that, at the Sollicitations of the King of the *Romans*, to whom he was much devoted, he had no less Regard to the Interest of the Duke of *Milan*, than to that of the King of *France*; and he was of great Authority with *Charles*, on account of his natural Parts and Valour, as well as because Princes are apt to esteem those as wise Men, who know best how to conform themselves to their Inclinations.

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PEACE then was concluded, to which the Duke of *Milan* had no sooner sworn than the King, wholly intent on his Return to *France*, set out on a sudden for *Turin*, in a great Hurry, from *Vercelli*: For that Part of the *Swiss* which was in the Camp, in order to secure their Pay for three whole Months, which, they said, was always allowed them by *Lewis XI.* tho' it had not been now promised them, and they had not yet served out that Time, consulted together about detaining either the King or the principal Persons of the Court ; from which Danger, tho' the King himself escaped by his sudden Departure, yet the *Swiss*, having made Prisoners of the Bailiff of *Dijon*, and other great Persons, he was at last obliged to give them Security by Hostages and Promises that their Demands should be satisfied.

THE King, more and more impatient to establish Peace, sent from *Turin* Marshal *de Gié*, the President *Gannay*, and *Argenton*, to the Duke of *Milan*, to desire a personal Conference. *Ledovico* seemed fond

fond of the Proposal, but either suspecting ^{A. D.} some Fraud, or perhaps studiously inter-_{1495.}posing Difficulties that he might not give Cause of Jealousy to the Allies, or out of Pride of appearing not inferior to the King of *France*, proposed the Meeting to be in the Midst of some River, over which there should be a Bridge of Boats, or of other Materials, and between him and the King a strong Barrier of Wood, in the same Manner as heretofore the Kings of *France* and *England*, and other great western Princes had met. This was refused by the King as beneath his Dignity; so, after receiving the Hostages, he sent *Peron de Basque* to *Genoa*, to receive the two large Vessels agreed for, and to fit out four others at his own Expence, to succour the Castles of *Naples*, which he knew had not been relieved by the Fleet ordered from *Nizza*, and by Agreement were to be surrendered, if not succoured in Thirty Days. His Intention was to put immediately Three Thousand *Swiss* on board these Vessels, and join them with his Fleet, which was retired to *Livorno*, and other Ships that were daily expected from *Provence*. Such

A. D. 1495. a Force was necessary, the Port of *Naples* being full of the Enemy's Fleet; for, besides those Vessels which *Ferdinando* had brought with him, the *Venetians* had sent Twenty Gallies, and Forty Ships. *Argenton* was sent also to *Venice* to press the Senate to accept of the Peace, and then the King, accompanied by his whole Court, began his Journey with so much Speed and Eagerness, that he could not be prevailed on to wait a few Days in *Italy* to receive the Hostages of the *Genoese*, who would certainly have sent them had he tarried a little longer. And thus, about the End of *October* 1495, *Charles*, after so many Victories, returned over the Mountains, more like a vanquished than victorious Prince. He left in *Asli*, which he pretended to have bought of the Duke of *Orleans*, Five Hundred *French* Lances under *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, but most of them in a few Days without asking Leave followed him. In this manner *Charles* quitted *Italy*, without making any other Provision for the Kingdom of *Naples*, than the Ships that were arming at *Genoa* and in *Pro-*
vence,

vence, besides an Assignment of the Money *A. D.*
and Aids promised by the *Florentines*. 1495.

IN giving the History of these Times, *First Ap-*
I think it ought not to be forgot that, *pearance*
amongst all other Calamities which over- *of the*
whelmed *Italy* by the Coming of the *French*
French, or were at least attributed to them, *Disease.*
at this Time first appeared that Distemper
which the *French* call the Distemper of
Naples, and on their Return was spread all
over *Italy*.

THIS Distemper, either quite new, or
never known before in our Hemisphere,
unless in its remotest Parts, has made for
a Number of Years such a Havock, that
it deserves to be mentioned as a fatal Ca-
lamity. It first discovered itself either by
very loathsome Boils, which often became
incurable Ulcers, or by acute Pains in
all the Joints and Nerves throughout the
Body; and unexperienced Physicians ap-
plied not only improper but often con-
trary Medicines, which irritated the Di-
stemper, and proved fatal to a Multitude
of both Sexes and of all Ages. Many
became

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became so horribly disfigured that they remained useless, and subject to almost perpetual Pains, and the best Part of those who seemed to be cured soon relapsed into the same Misery. But as some Years are now elapsed, either because the Celestial Influence, which produced the Distemper in so virulent a Manner, is mitigated, or that by Length of Time proper Remedies have been found out, it has lost very much of its Malignity, and has also metamorphosed itself into several different Shapes since its first Appearance. This is a Calamity which the present Generation might with Reason complain of, if it were transmitted to them by their Parents: But it is a received Opinion, that never, or at least very seldom, any one is afflicted with this Disease, any other Way than by Infection from Coition. However, the *French*, in Justice, ought to be cleared from this ignominious Imputation, for it afterwards plainly appeared that the Distemper was brought to *Naples* from *Spain*; nor was it the Product of that Country, but conveyed thither from those Islands which, about this Time, through the Means of *Christopher*

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Christopher Columbus, a *Genoese*, as in a more proper Place will be related, began to be known in our Hemisphere. But Nature has been indulgent to the Inhabitants of those Islands in providing an easy Remedy; for, by drinking the Juice of a noble Wood, memorable also for many other good Qualities, which grows among them, they are easily cured.

The End of the Second Book, and First Volume.

*See Robinson; Chapter V. page 110
111*

The Translator having preserved many *Italian* and *Spanish* Names where he imagined they might not be offensive to the Ear, has thought proper to add this Explanation.

<i>Carlo</i>	<i>Charles</i>
<i>Lorenzo</i>	<i>Lawrence</i>
<i>Giovanni</i>	<i>John</i>
<i>Lodovico</i>	<i>Lewis</i>
<i>Maria</i>	<i>Mary</i>
<i>Piero</i> }	<i>Peter</i>
<i>Pietro</i> }	
<i>Maddalena</i>	<i>Magdalen</i>
<i>Giovanna</i>	<i>Joane</i>
<i>Hannibale</i>	<i>Hannibal</i>
<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Francis</i>
<i>Carlotta</i>	<i>Charlotte</i>
<i>Henrico</i>	<i>Henry</i>
<i>Fieschi</i> }	The same Name.
<i>Fiesco</i> }	
<i>Bentivogli</i> }	The same Name.
<i>Bentivoglio</i> }	
<i>Livorno</i>	<i>Leghorn</i>
<i>Jacopo</i>	<i>James</i>
<i>Paolo</i>	<i>Paul</i>
<i>Tomaso</i>	<i>Thomas</i>
<i>San Vincentio</i>	<i>Saint Vincent</i>
<i>Bernardino</i>	<i>Bernard</i>
<i>Castel Nuovo</i>	<i>The New Castle</i>
<i>Castelletto</i>	<i>The Little Castle</i>
<i>Nizza</i>	<i>Nice.</i>

E R R A T A.

Page viii l. 12 *r.* *French* and *Spaniards*.
 p. xvii l. 2 *r.* he was made. p. 1 l. 4 *r.*
 Princes. p. 11 l. 6 for and *r.* but also for.
 p. 32 l. 20 *r.* assist his Holiness. p. 47 l. 12
d. Increase. p. 68 *r.* Conditions. p. 80
r. Basque. p. 86 l. 3 *r.* or rather. p. 133
 last l. *r.* lent. p. 138 l. 13 *r.* will strive.
 p. 201 *r.* *Gratiano*. p. 232 l. 23 *r.* had ad-
 vised them to have been procured. p. 267
 l. 1 *d.* a. p. 273 l. 3 *r.* them, all; l. 6 *d.* it.
 p. 295 l. 15 *r.* *Florentines*. p. 306 l. 21 *r.* by
Castel. p. 346 l. 4. *r.* victorious in a Battle
 against *Maximilian* King. p. 401 l. 13 *r.* re-
 versed, &c. &c.

